

THE GAIKWADS OF BARODA

ENGLISH DOCUMENTS

VOLUME VI

ANANDRAO GAIKWAD

(1803—1805)

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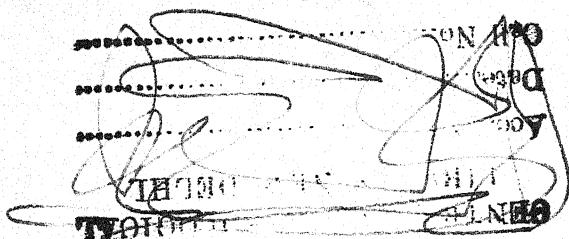
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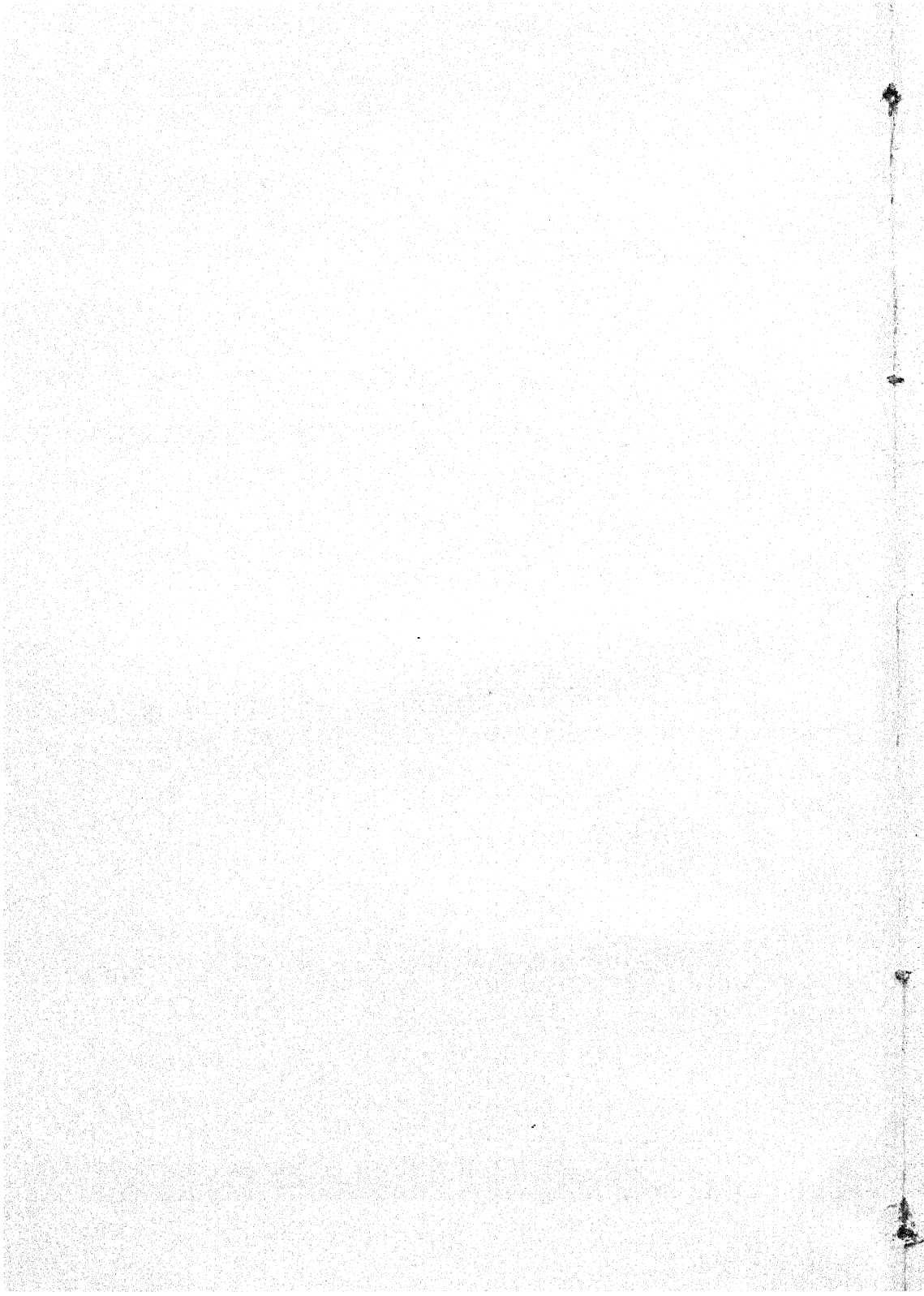
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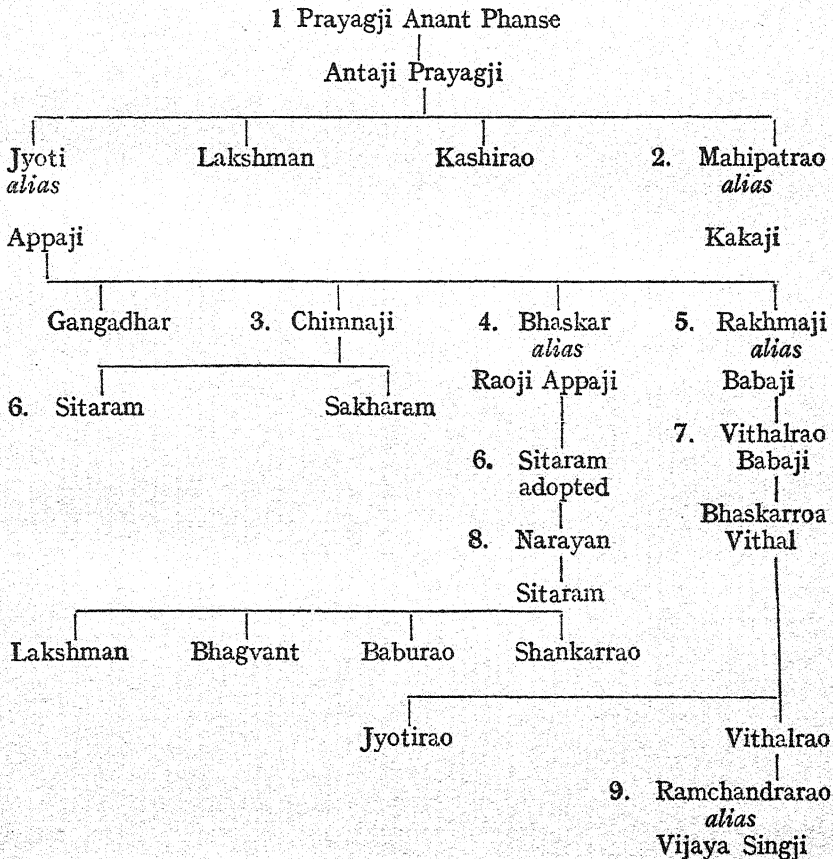
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INTRODUCTION

SITARAM'S TRIALS

The Phanse Family: It was part of the agreement arrived at between Raoji Appaji and Jonathan Duncan that the diwanship should be made a hereditary office. Raoji Appaji's family was thus raised to a quasi-dynastic dignity like that of the Peshwas in Poona; and it becomes thereby entitled to a short biographical sketch in order to draw attention to those of its members of whom special mention is made in history.



1. Prayagji Anant Phanse was Subahdar of the forts Satara and Parli in the reign of Shivaji the Great.

2. Mahipatrao Kakaji was a general of the Baroda army in the days of Maharaja Anandrao.

3. Chimnaji Appaji fought for Maharaja Govindrao in the battle of Songarh and was slain in it.

4. Raoji Appaji was Diwan of Baroda in the reign of Maharajas Govindrao and Anandrao.

5. Babaji Appaji was a General of the Baroda army in the reign of Maharajas Govindrao and Anandrao ; he was also Diwan in the reign of Fatesingrao II.

6. Sitaram Raoji, the son of Chimnaji and the adopted son of Raoji Appaji, was Diwan in the reign of Maharajas Anandrao and Fatesingrao II.

7. Vithalrao Babaji, the son of Babaji, was Diwan in the reign of Sayajirao II.

8. Narayan Sitaram, the son of Sitaram Raoji, was Shikkenavis or keeper of the seal of the Baroda State in the reign of Maharajas Sayajirao II and Ganpatrao.

9. Vijayasingji was the Chief of Vithal Gad State in Kathiawar.*1

Sitaram's Adoption : Shortly before his death Raoji Appaji thought of adopting a son, and his choice lay between his nephews, Sitaram and Sakharam, the sons of Chimnaji.

It would seem that Alexander Walker was to a great extent responsible for the decision then taken. In a letter of the 23rd May, 1803, he wrote to Jonathan Duncan : "Coinciding in the expediency of the measure [that of providing an adopted son to succeed him] the Diwan had agreed to adopt a son ; but his affections were divided between Sitaram and Sakharam, descendants of his elder brother ; and he appeared extremely unwilling unto which of the two brothers he should give the preference. The senior of the nephews, besides the advantage of years, possessed a disposition [and] abilities which rendered him the fittest person to be his uncle's successor. These circumstances had induced me to recommend Sitaram to Raoba as best qualified to support the future fortunes of his family and to be at the head of the Gaikwad Administra-

1 The genealogical tree of the Phanse family and the appended notes on some of its members were supplied through the good offices of Mr. Laxman Sitaram Phanse, a living descendant of the Baroda Minister.

tion. This opinion was embraced by the rest of the relations, and Raoba decided on the adoption of Sitaram.'

In course of time Sitaram became Diwan without any apparent opposition. Considering that Alexander Walker had been chiefly instrumental in Sitaram's rise to power, it is passing strange that he should write to Jonathan Duncan on the 1st November, 1803: "The members of the Administration are poor, and Babaji is the only person of influence, who is supposed to be in the possession of funds that could enable him to conduct the government. There is no doubt but Babaji would be gratified with this situation, and several proposals have been made to me to favour his views, which I have constantly thought it my duty to discourage. Should Sitaram however be unable to discharge the necessary expenses of government, his administration must be dissolved by its own inability and weakness. This is an event which Raoba's family look forward to without the Company's assistance; and it is their intention in such a case to invite Babaji to take charge of the administration, although few of them wish to be under his rule; but it will be the only expedient left for securing their own situation and perpetuating the power of their family by placing this relation at the head of affairs."

Alexander Walker was apparently quite ready to leave Sitaram in the lurch, in spite of the promise made to Raoji Appaji that the Company would duly support and protect his adopted son [Sitaram]. In course of time Sitaram was superseded by his uncle, Babaji, either with the connivance or on the initiative of the Baroda Resident. And whatever considerations may have been brought forward by way of attenuating circumstances to give colour to this change of policy, there is no getting over it that Alexander Walker's above-quoted letter leaves behind an unpleasant after-taste that the Company's goodwill towards Sitaram was tainted with opportunism.

It is in the light of Sitaram's subsequent downfall that the documents here recorded must be read. The Baroda Diwan was weighed in the balance and found wanting; and it is but fair that the whole of the weighing process should be carefully inquired into. Besides the person found wanting, there was the balance, and the

weights, and the weighman ; and there is also such a thing as giving short weight, an iniquitous action, perpetrated not only by smiling and dishonest shopkeepers, but also by sanctimonious official historians.

The events recorded in these documents will greatly help the student to form a correct estimate of Sitaram's failings and shortcomings. These events cannot be grouped under a general heading ; they are partly synchronological, partly overlapping ; now unconnected, and at times interdependent, though not like the pieces of a jig-saw puzzle. But all of them have this in common that they evidence the many difficulties with which Sitaram's administration was beset on all sides, as may be gathered from the details appended to each of the sub-divisional heads under which these documents are here classified.

In judging of a man's public life, the difficulties with which he has to contend have to be taken into account. To find fault with a man for not achieving what, owing to untoward circumstances beyond his control, he could not achieve is not playing the game ; it is not cricket.

Now Sitaram—it was not his fault, but his misfortune—was doomed to labour under all sorts of disadvantages ; and this drawback has been conveniently ignored by those annalists who have expatiated on the chapter of accidents, without mentioning the volume of difficulties. By way of a belated attempt to show Sitaram's doings in their true perspective, so that he may be given the chance—denied to none but mad dogs—to be dealt with fairly, this collection of documents is entitled : Sitaram's Trials.

I SITARAM'S ACCESSION

Sitaram's accession to the diwanship came off peacefully, without being marred by any civil disturbances and with the open approval and promised support of some of the leading Baroda personalities, notably Babaji and Madhavarao Gopal Tatya. But before long, the new Diwan was made aware of what was in store for him ; and the fifty-six paragraphs into which Alexander Walker's advice to Sitaram is distributed is the most telling evidence of the hopelessly entangled state of the Baroda finances and of Walker's determination that the Company's money claims should not be relegated to the background. This

document assumes a special significance if it be taken into consideration that under the smooth unruffled surface of the political waters there were latent undercurrents at work. For in spite of official promises and professions of friendship, Alexander Walker, who had made Sitaram Diwan, was ready to unmake him and had a secret liking for Babaji, so that the outlook was less hopeful than it actually seemed to be.

II MALHARRAO'S DEFEAT

An other source of trouble was Malharrao. After his escape from Nadiad he passed into Kathiawar, whence he crossed into Cutch. At first he remained so quiet that it was as confidently believed, as it was earnestly hoped, that he would not cause any further civil disturbances. But these expectations proved too sanguine; and in July, 1803, Malharrao was back in Kathiawar at the head of freshly raised forces, ready to make another bid for ministerial supremacy and incidentally for the gadi of Baroda.

During the late contest with Raoji Appaji, Malharrao had failed to give a good account of himself. His lack of initiative on that occasion might however be partly condoned on the plea that he was then no match for the British army sent against him, and that he was hopelessly at a disadvantage as regards the efficiency of his fighting forces, the military skill of his officers and his warlike equipment in rifles, guns and ammunition. But this appeal to attenuating circumstances is hardly justified in the light of after-events.

When Malharrao renewed the fight in Kathiawar, he was pitted, not against British troops, but against the mulukgiri contingent of Babaji, Raoji Appaji's brother. The contending forces were fairly equally matched. Moreover Kathiawar was in a state of discontent, partly because of the never-ending dissensions between the different rival Chieftains and partly because of the Baroda Government's mulukgiri campaign. Malharrao was not sufficiently clever to make capital of the prevailing state of unrest. As he had no money to defray the salary of his followers, he allowed his troops to live on the land and on the inhabitants by indiscriminate raiding and wholesale plunder,

which provoked considerable opposition against him. He never risked fighting it out with his enemies in a pitched battle, but preferred to withdraw, though his retreats amounted to flights ; and at last, abandoned by his own followers, he sought refuge in the jungle, whence he was saved from starvation by Babaji's men. Thus ended Malhar'rao's second bid for ministerial power.

One unfortunate result of Babaji's success was his consequent rise in Alexander Walker's esteem and the concomitant lowering of Sitaram's stock—a deplorable consequence, which is not explicitly stated but rather implicitly hinted at in the documents.

III FATESINGRAO'S RETURN

Next came the trouble with Fatesingrao. In the course of the year 1802, on the occasion of the contest between Holkar and the allied forces of Sindia and the Peshwa, Fatesingrao, a younger brother of Anandrao Gaikwad and the heir presumptive to the masnad, happened to be near Poona, and was captured by one of Holkar's officers. This officer's name is not given in the documents, but it was probably Shah Ahmed Khan, since he kept Fatesingrao a prisoner in his camp, and settled and claimed the ransom to be paid for the Prince's release.

The Baroda Government had serious misgivings about the part which Fatesingrao might be forced to play if an army under his nominal leadership should invade the Gaikwad dominions, and their anxiety was shared by Alexander Walker, the Resident at Baroda. Both the Gaikwad Administration and Alexander Walker were anxious to get Fatesingrao safe in Baroda. But Jonathan Duncan was at first of a different mind ; and dreading, lest Fatesingrao should unduly interfere in public affairs, he gave orders to the servants of the Company to desist from all attempts to liberate the young Prince. But his orders reached the officer in command of Songarh too late, and Fatesingrao was allowed to proceed to Vyara on his way to Baroda.

He was escorted by a band of Pathans, commanded by Jamal Khan and Zenghis Khan ; and it would seem that the two Khans had been mainly instrumental in obtaining the Prince's release on promising to pay a ransom

of 50,000 Rupees. It is obvious that the Pathans did not act from purely disinterested motives. All kinds of promises had been held out to them by Fatesingrao and his mother : pecuniary rewards, assurances of entering the Gaikwad service, and to Jamal Khan the free gift of a jagir. Hence the Baroda Administration were faced with a twofold problem : providing 50,000 Rupees, and getting rid of the Pathan escort.

As regards the ransom, incredible though it may sound, the Baroda Government were not in a position to scrape together the paltry sum of 50,000 Rupees ; and they could only raise it by loans, after Alexander Walker had promised to guarantee the repayment of the sums advanced. It would be difficult indeed to excogitate a more damning indictment of the then existing financial department in the State of Baroda. Incidentally it is likewise clearly brought home thereby that the friendship of the Company had not been instrumental in filling the Gaikwad treasury.

With respect to the Pathan escort, every means was tried to prevent them from crossing the Narbada. It was suggested that they should be detained at Bardoli, or diverted towards Surat. Orders to that effect were sent to Fatesingrao ; and the Pathans themselves were appealed to, and Alexander Walker wrote to Jamal Khan : " I have received an exceedingly good report of you from the Colonel [Watson], who visited you at Vyara ; which makes me desirous of serving you, were it in my power. But I perceive no way of doing it but by telling you the truth ! " [*sic*.] Perhaps the Pathans were not accustomed to be told the truth. Anyway they proved obdurate, crossed the Narbada and made for Baroda. An attempt was then made to stop Fatesingrao and his escort at Markarpura, 3 kos from Baroda ; but Fatesingrao entered Baroda, and the Pathans camped near the city, awaiting further developments.

The Pathans readily accepted drafts on Surat for the ransom of 50,000 Rupees, to be cashed at Songarh after the release of the hostages. But they were less inclined to admit that the promises, made to them by Fatesingrao and his mother, could not be fulfilled. When they were told that they would have to leave Gujarat at their earliest convenience, they claimed 1,07,650 Rupees to make good their personal expenses. After a good deal of haggling a

settlement was at last arrived at, according to which the Pathans accepted in full payment of all their demands a sum of 20,000 Rupees, exclusive of the money that had already at different times been given them, and amounting to 13,000 Rupees.

But all this took time, more time than was necessary for the Pathans to get implicated into a conspiracy, to which Anandrao and Takhatabai, his most favoured wife, were both privy. The conspirators meant to subvert the existing Administration ; but their plot was defeated by its timely discovery, whereupon the Baroda Government hastened the departure of the Pathans.

After the Pathans had marched off, it was at first thought that the whole question of Fatesingrao's return was at last satisfactorily settled. Then it leaked out that the hostages for the ransom had made their escape, and that Shah Ahmed Khan had not received anything of the 50,000 Rupees. This was perhaps a blessing in disguise ; for the English profited thereby to endeavour to detach Shah Ahmed Khan from Holkar. They wrote to the Khan that they were most anxious to see to it that the ransom was fully paid to him. At the same time they regretted that they were unable to effect this, unless he desisted from assisting Holkar with whom the English were at war. This reasoning Shah Ahmed Khan failed to understand, and he complained bitterly : " The ingenuity of Europeans is indeed wonderful, since they can turn the stream that has passed away, and give to falsehood the colour of truth and to truth that of its opposite."

Incidentally the alleged embezzlement of the ransom money further weakened Alexander Walker's good opinion of Sitaram. It would seem that Sitaram, on becoming aware of the fraudulent diversion of the money, did not at once inform the Resident and was thereupon accused of having connived at a breach of the national faith. This accusation was more than he could stand, and on the plea of going on a pilgrimage he suddenly left for Chandod Karnali. Sitaram was persuaded to return, and the misunderstanding was tided over ; but Alexander Walker's confidence in the Diwan of his own making was no more what it had been.

There is no evidence in the documents to substantiate the accusation levelled against Sitaram in *The Gazetteer*

of the Baroda State. "It was also found that the Diwan had appropriated some, and had distributed the rest, of the money without obtaining the Maharaja's seal, necessary in all matters of disbursement, at a time when the attendance at the palace of Gangadhar Shastri, now acting for the Resident as Member of the Council or Commission, had been purposely dispensed with. No wonder that when called upon to explain personally to the Resident, Sitaram found it imperative on him to go on a short pilgrimage."

Sitaram did not appropriate any of the ransom money, nor did he disburse any part of it; disbursement supposes previous appropriation. Had he done so, Alexander Walker would undoubtedly have mentioned it in his official account of the events. What happened was that Sitaram did not warn either Walker or Gangadhar Shastri of what had occurred, and did not insist nor take any steps that the ransom money should be paid to Ahmed Khan.

Incidentally the accusation shows that Sitaram's power in the State was merely nominal; the real diwan was Alexander Walker.

IV KANHOJI'S REBELLION

The beginnings of Kanhoji's insurrectionary movement are dealt with in the fifth volume of this series. The rebellion started on November 23, 1802, with Kanhoji's flight from Ranpur. From that date to the outbreak of the war with Sindia on August 3, 1803, Kanhoji's recourse to arms was neither an unqualified success nor a downright failure; it was in the nature of a prolonged ding-dong struggle, more enervating than destructive.

With the declaration of war against Sindia the contest for supremacy between the rebel Gaikwad Prince and the Baroda Administration entered on a new phase; and this new phase is dealt with in the documents published in this volume.

First of all, the Second Maratha War was for Kanhoji a blessing pure and simple, without any disguise about it. The Baroda forces were not in a position to bring him to book; and they could now no longer reckon on the undivided support of the English troops; on the contrary, the English authorities expected the Baroda

Government to help them against Sindia. Thus was the attention of his enemies diverted from him. Big game hunters refrain from chasing squirrels; and Kanhoji was left free to continue the contest. What is more, his intent to oppose the Baroda Government was stiffened by the policy of the British Authorities. The latter wanted to have done with Kanhoji and were ready to come to terms with him; whereupon Kanhoji was led to think that he was somebody, a personage to be reckoned with. Before long, the English realised their mistake and broke off the ill-advised negotiations.

The military operations, directed either by Kanhoji or against him, are of no importance. Kanhoji persisted in following the rather exasperating practice of seeking safety in flight when his opponents came dangerously close to him. When not pressed by his enemies, he harassed the territories of petty Chieftains, who were unable to ward off the inroads of his marauding soldiers.

But this lack of military interest is more than made up for by the political transactions which followed in the wake of the contest. First of all by attacking the petty Chieftains Kanhoji played into the hands of the English. For the victims of his predatory incursions addressed themselves to the Company and asked for help. The English had their hands full with Sindia, but this did not prevent them from sympathising with the petty Chieftains and from winning them over to their side by making them all sorts of promises. Thus was the way prepared for future alliances and the further spread of British overlordship... and all this, thanks to Kanhoji.

In the second place, owing to its prolonged duration, Kanhoji's rebellion seriously taxed the military resources of the Gaikwad State and made financial demands on the Baroda treasury, which the Government could not meet. The Administration were thus brought more and more under the dominating control of the English. The direction of affairs was gradually taken out of the hands of the Baroda Administration, and it was Major Walker who practically ruled in the State.

In the third place, during the war with Sindia, Kanhoji's rebellion was instrumental in bringing about dissensions between Kakaji, the leader of the Baroda forces, and Colonel Murray in command of the British troops. These dis-

sensions will be fully dealt with when recording the doings of the Baroda Contingent. But by way of anticipating events, it may be pointed out that Sitaram's credit was impaired by the strained relations between Kakaji and Murray; and Kanhoji, among the evils which he brought upon the Gaikwad State, contributed also to the final downfall of the Diwan, Sitaram.

V WAR WITH SINDIA

In the Second Maratha War all the British resources in India were tapped. The Bombay Presidency was also called upon to contribute its quota of troops; and thus it came about that the Baroda State was drawn into the conflict.

Two treaties had been concluded between the Bombay Government and the Baroda Administration. By the treaty of the 15th March, 1802, the Baroda Government consented permanently to subsidise a force of about 2,000 sepoys, one company of English artillery and its proportion (consisting of two companies) of lascars, at the rate of 65,000 Rupees per month. By the treaty of the 6th June, 1802, jaidad and landed funds equal to 65,000 Rupees per month were set apart for paying the stipend of the subsidiary force. When the war with Sindia broke out, no one could possibly have taken exception to the orders, issued by the Commander-in-Chief, that the subsidised force in the Baroda State should be included among the effectives to be employed on active service. But more was asked from the Baroda State.

The direction of military affairs in their own Presidency was not left in the hands of the Bombay Government and their servants. The latter were superseded by Major-General Wellesley, who appointed Colonel Murray to command the British forces in Gujarat. Moreover, Wellesley insisted on the Baroda Government coming to the assistance of the Company by equipping a force of their own. Major Walker questioned the Company's right to do so, since there was no mention of any mutual engagements in the treaties of March and June, 1802. But Major-General Wellesley thought otherwise.

He wrote to Jonathan Duncan: "Although it is not immediately specified, it can never have been intended

that the Company should protect the Gaikwad State, unless the Gaikwad should also assist the Company with its forces against the enemies of the British Government. Indeed I cannot understand 'true friendship and good understanding' in any other manner. If it were otherwise, *the consequence would be that the Company would be involved in perpetual war for the protection of the Gaikwad State, without any adequate compensation, excepting that of repayment of the expenses incurred."*

This italicised conclusion is a tour de force of a master strategist. But the plea of the Company being involved in perpetual warfare is a travesty of the truth. Nor must it be forgotten that the subsidiary troops, whilst protecting the Gaikwad State, established a complete military control by the British Authorities over the Gaikwad country and the Baroda Administration, this was no small advantage; and for enjoying this privilege the Company were paid 65,000 Rupees per month!

Major-General Wellesley's opinion prevailed, and the Baroda State promised to equip a cavalry corps to fight on the side of the English. It is but natural that the Baroda Administration expected that some return should be made to them for their assistance. In the words of Major Walker: "If the Raja was elated with a hope in sharing in our successful enterprises against the enemy, it would dispose him and enable him more readily to complete the quota of troops." Major Walker felt inclined to comply with this request, but not in such a manner as to redound to his magnanimity. "I have reason to think that their expectations on this head are very moderate. By conceding them a tract of territory, unprofitable to us, we would gratify the vanity of the Gaikwad family." But even this niggardly proposal was not approved by the Commander-in-Chief. On December 2, 1803, Major-General Wellesley wrote: "There is no intention whatever, at least I will never consent to the measure, to give the countries conquered in Gujarat to the Gaikwad Government to pay for these troops." Again, after peace had been made with Sindia, Wellesley wrote: "There does not appear to me to be any necessity to inform the Raja, Anand Rao, of the purport of the 5th Article [referring to the territorial cessions made by Sindia], till further orders

will have been received from His Excellency the Governor-General."

The active part of the Baroda Contingent in the war with Sindia was not of decisive or preponderating moment ; and from a military point of view it is but of local interest and of little importance. But the behaviour of the Contingent gave rise to considerable political difficulties. The Baroda troops were commanded by Raghunath Mahipatrao Kakaji, a man already advanced in years, since he was Sitaram's paternal grand-uncle. The relations between Kakaji and Colonel Murray were the reverse of harmonious. Colonel Murray did not mince matters ; and in his letters he repeated time after time with characteristic military frankness that the Gaikwad troops were a burden rather than a help, that they were ignorant of the first principles of discipline, and did not know what was meant by obedience. Kakaji indignantly protested against these unflattering aspersions and was eloquent in voicing the complaints of the Baroda Contingent : their arrears of pay, the nature of their engagements, their primary duty to secure the Gaikwad dominions against an invasion on the part of Kanhojirao rather than go and wage war abroad against Sindia and Bhonsla.

But it must be borne in mind that the Baroda Diwan, Sitaram, was in no way to blame for the remissness of the Gaikwad troops. In the words of Major Walker : " I have done everything in my power to render the co-operation of the Gaikwad troops as efficient as their constitution and habits allowed. The Diwan [Sitaram] has likewise employed all the influence of his office in favour of this subject."

One unavoidable result of the lack of co-operation between Kakaji and Murray was that the latter was at times rather crippled and was thus prevented from making good. Furthermore, the Company profited by the war with Sindia and Bhonsla to win over to their side a number of petty Chieftains in the manner already described when dealing with Kanhojirao's rebellion.

VI WAR WITH HOLKAR

During the Second Maratha War Holkar showed on more than one occasion that his sympathies were not with

the British. He did not however throw in his lot with their enemies, and was therefore not interfered with. But, as soon as Sindia and Bhonsla had been defeated, it was his turn to be brought under the policy of the subsidiary system.

Though the Baroda Contingent had not distinguished themselves during the war with Sindia and Bhonsla, orders were issued that another contingent should be dispatched to share in the contest against Holkar. The part played by this contingent during the Third Maratha War was but a tragicomic interlude; yet it is worth recording, and that for several reasons.

First of all it gives us an insight into the rapid deterioration that impaired the strength of the Baroda fighting forces after the death of Sayajirao I. Like every other army, the Baroda forces could only fight on their stomach. But the Gaikwad fighting men had a succession of lean years; and the arrears due to them exceeded the payment they had drawn. The result was that they were a discontented, undisciplined crowd, anxious to make good the losses they had suffered. When they were sent on service with the British armies, they naturally hoped that they would be in a position to exact their arrears of pay; and when they were disappointed in their expectations, they simply sat down by the way-side and refused to advance.

It is difficult equitably to apportion the guilt and the blame among the people concerned. Who was the party responsible, for the failure? Was it Kakaji, their commander, or the jamadars under him, or the common soldiers? Perhaps all of them were equally reluctant to fight on the side of the English, when they realised that it would not prove as profitable as they had hoped.

In the second place the waywardness of the Baroda Contingent may serve the useful purpose of re-establishing the good name of Colonel Murray and of Sitaram Raoji, a somewhat belated rehabilitation, but all the more necessary because long overdue.

Colonel Murray was in command of the Gujarat army. He did not fight any decisive action during the Third Maratha War. He did not suffer any military reverses, but he was expected to win victories, and this he failed to do. He was therefore slightly spoken of and written

about. General Wellesley left it on record : " Colonel Murray and Colonel William Monson were afraid of Holkar and fled from him in different directions." And the Commander-in-Chief, General Lake, wrote : " It is most provoking that this fellow [Jaswantrao Holkar] should escape ; but really so many untoward circumstances have happened that I am quite wretched. If Colonel Murray, or any one else who may be in command, would but come forward at all, this monster [Holkar] could not escape."

Nothing succeeds like success, but lack of success is not necessarily an acid test of a man's incompetence. The question may indeed be asked whether Wellesley or Lake would have acquitted themselves better if they had been in Murray's subordinate position and as hopelessly handicapped. Both Wellesley and Lake had considerable and reliable fighting forces under them, whilst Murray found himself in exactly the opposite predicament. Among Murray's forces were the men of the Baroda Contingent, who, instead of proving a help, were a source of constant anxiety. In the words of Major Walker, who spoke with a full knowledge of the facts : " The services of these troops are at their best very limited ; and they have so long been accustomed to insubordination that it has grown into a part of their established privileges." It was perhaps a mistake on Murray's part to expect from them the same grit which the more disciplined troops of the Company showed without hesitation or demur ; and he might have got more out of them, if he had been more forbearing and considerate. Be that as it may, it redounds but little to the honour of Lake and Wellesley to have disparagingly animadverted on Murray's military efficiency.

Captain Nicolls, who was on the spot, spoke of Murray in the highest terms : " Upon assuming the command in 1803, Murray found the army in Gujarat as much unaccustomed to, as it was unprepared for, the part in the extended scale of co-operation, which circumstances rendered it necessary, and it was accordingly destined, to fulfil. For this duty he formed and equipped the corps placed under his orders with assiduity and despatch.

"Upon the commencement of hostilities with Jaswantrao Holkar, the Colonel was ordered to advance a second time, which...he was enabled to do at once.

Since that period Colonel Murray has had to act during one of the severest monsoons ever experienced in that part of the country, in which the tents, cattle and a great quantity of provisions were destroyed, and his ammunition and other parts of his stores and equipment considerably damaged. Under complicated and severe losses, lately experienced, the difficult task of re-equipping the army became his care; and this, it is but just to remark, he performed in an impoverished country with a degree of expedition as creditable to him and the officers under his command, as it was unexpected."

It may be objected that Wellesley and Lake were unaware of Murray's difficulties when they accused him of cowardice and incompetence. But their ignorance can hardly be brought forward by way of palliative to bolster up their ill-advised criticism. Both of them were military men and capable leaders; both of them were entrusted with the military command of the British troops; and before condemning a subordinate officer it was their bounden duty to make inquiries, which they evidently failed to do. As it was, Colonel Murray was superseded by Colonel Jones. At whose instance the change was effected, is not recorded in the documents. Whosoever was in the first instance responsible for it, (Walker, Duncan or Wellesley?) made a great mistake. It was not a change for the better; for Colonel Jones's difficulties with the Baroda Contingent were as pronounced as those of Murray.

As regards Sitaram Raoji, the Baroda Contingent's happy-go-lucky fashion of fighting made him as unpopular as Colonel Murray. But in Sitaram's case, too, the accusations laid at his door were altogether unwarranted.

After chronicling the failure of the Gaikwad Contingent, the *Gazetteer of the Baroda State* concludes as follows: "It is no wonder, *therefore*, that Major Walker was only waiting for the completion of the campaign in Kathiawar to oust the incompetent minister, Sitaram;" where the italicised illative conjunction is one of the most glaring instances of unfair insinuation to blacken a man's good name. Sitaram Raoji was in no way responsible for the lamentable behaviour of the Gaikwad troops.

When the strained relations between Kakaji and Murray came to breaking point, Sitaram Raoji, so far from siding with Kakaji, offered to take upon himself the

command of the Baroda Contingent, thus overriding the authority of his paternal grand-uncle, who used to end his letters to the young Diwan with the phrase : ' This, my blessing to you.' It required some courage in Sitaram to make up his mind to supersede the old man.

Commenting on Sitaram's offer, the Bombay Government wrote to the Company that they considered it as : " a measure which satisfactorily manifests the disposition of the Gaikwad Administration to render its co-operation as effectual as possible for the purposes of the war."

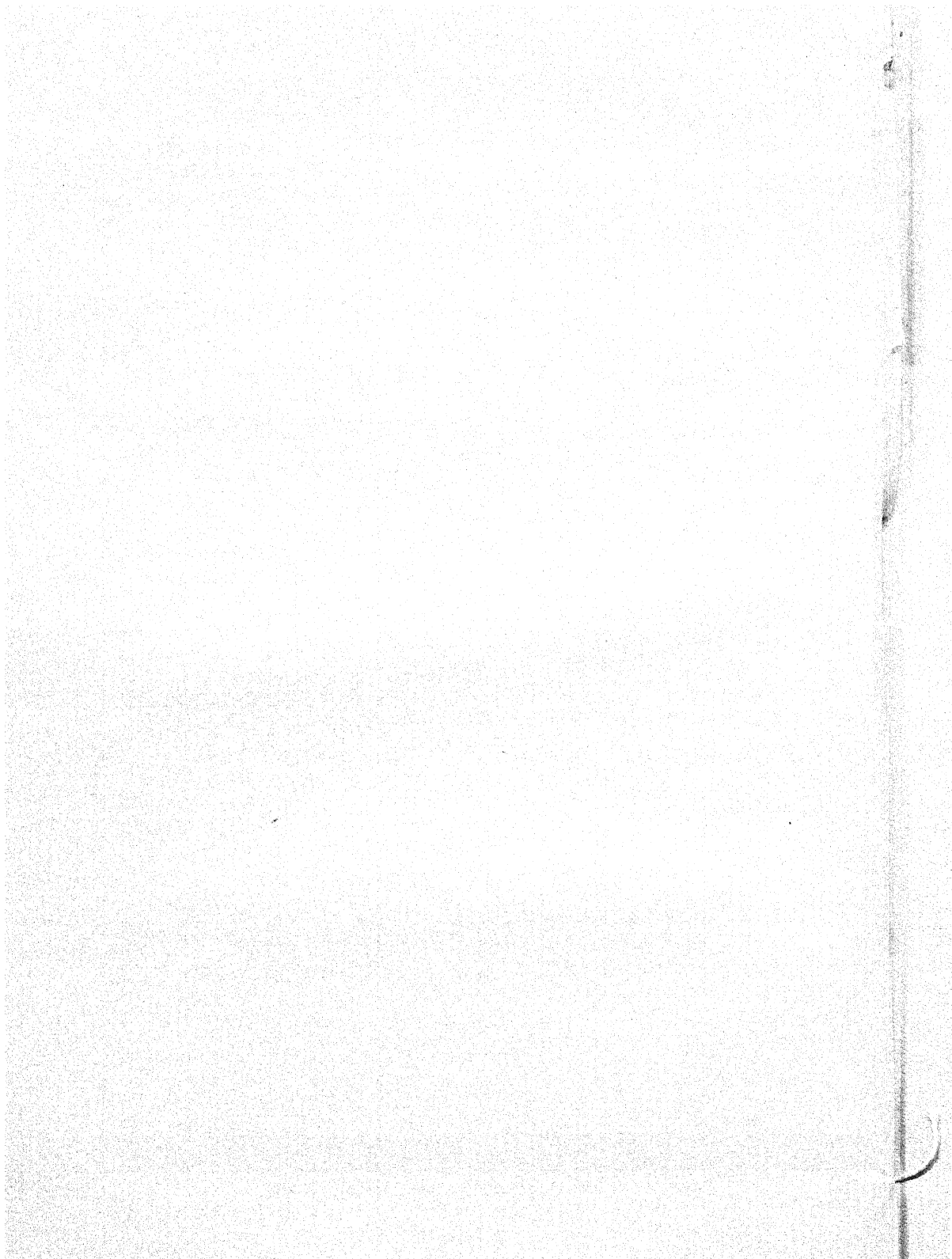
Sitaram's proposal was not carried into effect, and Kakaji retained his command. When the latter at last made up his mind to withdraw from the English army and to return to Baroda, Sitaram Raoji was unsparing in his animadversions, Colonel Walker wrote : " On receiving this information [of Kakaji's withdrawal], the Diwan immediately addressed a letter to Kakaji and sent it express, couched in the strongest terms of admonition, to induce the Gaikwad troops at least himself [Kakaji] to remain in the field with whatever number would follow his example ;..and if it [the letter] should not arrive too late, from the earnest manner in which the Diwan has pressed the subject on his relation, it is possible that it may produce some favourable change on these mercenaries."

But the letter came too late, and the next news to reach Baroda was to the effect that Kakaji was on his way home. " On the first intelligence of such disgraceful conduct," as Walker informed the Bombay Government, " Sitaram directed a letter to Kakaji, desiring him to halt wherever the order would find him and forbidding him in the strongest terms from coming to Baroda."

Similar passages might be multiplied, all of them to be found in the documents published in this volume ; and their significance brings home to us the flagrant unfairness of connecting Sitaram with the débâcle of the Baroda Contingent.

Conclusion: Such is the beginning of the story of Sitaram Raoji's trials.

Bombay, St. Xavier's College, December, 1940.



ANANDRAO GAIKWAD

(1803—1805)

Sitaram's Trials

No. 1. SITARAM'S ACCESSION

(1803)

THE documents dealing with Sitaram's accession owe their importance to their underlying significance. Beneath the surface-aspect of a peaceful accession without any civil disturbances, there is a strong undercurrent of disruptive forces silently but effectively at work. Major Walker's manifest distrust of Sitaram Raoji, the Diwan of his own making, is anything but reassuring; and the paper of advice, wherewith he honoured Sitaram, gives unquestionable proof of the financial straits in which the Gaikwad State was involved. The documents are grouped under two headings :

Section A : Sitaram's accession

Section B : Baroda-Bombay relations

DOCUMENTS.

Section A : SITARAM'S ACCESSION

Baroda, 4th August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)

1803

Alexander Walker to Jonathan Duncan.

I have the honour to inform you that, the period of mourning for *Sitaram* the late Diwan being finished, his adopted son, Sitaram Raoji Bapu, *Diwan* was yesterday put into possession of the office held by his father.

His installation took place with as much éclat as has been usual on an occasion of this nature, with the hearty goodwill of the Raja and apparently with the cordial concurrence of every person.

I attended the ceremony at the palace, and the procession returned with me to the Residency, where the new Diwan was received with suitable marks of attention and distinction.

I have the honour to enter a translation of the sanad containing Sitaram's nomination to be Diwan in a letter from the Raja to the Hon'ble the Governor, announcing the same event. Similar communications have been made to His Highness the Peshwa and the other States in friendship of this Government.

*Sitaram's
position*

As it was chiefly by our persuasion that Raoba, in the choice of an heir, was led to give the preference to Sitaram and perhaps entirely by our support that he has obtained possession of the diwanship, we may expect that either gratitude or intention will preserve to us a considerable influence in the measures of his administration. While these circumstances may be supposed to connect Sitaram to us by strong ties, they deprive him of any support but ours, and expose him to the whole weight of the enmity that is secretly or openly opposed to us. If he performs his duty and proceeds firmly to correct the abuses of this State, which can alone save it from destruction, the task will be arduous and not unattended by danger. He is himself sensible of the necessity of a thorough reformation, but he dare not proceed in it without the open support of our power and occasionally the assistance of our credit. It is indeed difficult to conceive how this Administration can long support itself without some aid at first in money, and it is now necessary to determine whether we choose to defend it at all hazards or leave it to struggle with its necessities. In the last case, although we should give it all our countenance, this would probably not be sufficient to save it. In the former case we may run some risks, but we have a good chance to reap solid advantages, and it is for our reputation to maintain an administration of our own appointing.

Anandrao Gaikwad Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur to Sitaram Raoji, dated Baroda, 3rd August, 1803.

Sanad

It has pleased us to appoint you successor to the office of diwan from the death of your father, Raoji Appaji. We therefore charge you to perform diligently and faithfully the duties, entrusted to you as Diwan, of promoting the tranquillity of the country and the interests of the State.

1803 *Camp (Kathlawar), 9th August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)*

Babaji to Major Walker.

*Trust in
Walker*

Who without [*except*] you could give effectual aid and advice to Sitaram Bapu? All our faith is in you; our late brother [*Raoji*] gave us to the Company's Government.

Sitaram is young; and if he falls into error from ignorance, forgive him; and should any low-minded persons venture to assert a falsehood or backbite any of the servants of Government, treat them as they deserve. The essence of all I have to say is that our utmost confidence rests in you, who succeed to the place of our brother now in paradise.

I have been happy at the thought of your being the instrument of giving the cloth from the Raja to Sitaram.

1803 *Baroda, 9th August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)*

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

Grateful

In obedience to the Hon'ble the Governor's commands, conveyed in your letter of the 26th ultimo, I have made to the parties in question a full communication of the sentiments of Government on the death of Raoji Appaji, the late Diwan.

I request that you will be pleased to inform the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the Raja, and particularly Sitaram Raoji

with his relations, and the members of the Administration at present at Baroda most respectfully expressed their gratitude and happiness on receiving assurances of friendship and supply from the Company's Government.

Bombay, 14th August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)
James Grant to Alexander Walker.

1803

I am directed by the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, to *Approval* acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the fourth instant, and to advise that Government approve of the succession of Sitaram Raoji to his father's office of diwan, as having taken place at our recommendation and by the nomination of Raja Anandrao.

Much as it is the wish of the Governor-in-Council to avoid any *Loans* further outlay of public money in the support of the Gaikwad Government, he is sensible that some pecuniary aid may prove indispensable in the outset of Sitaram's administration, and therefore must, however reluctantly, acquiesce in the same, in the reliance Government place on you that you will keep the amount thereof within as narrow limits as possible and defray it also out of the funds that are now forthcoming, either on account of the last year's subsidy, or from the current collection ; advising Government also more particularly of the description and necessity of each particular payment and of the nature of the security on which it may be under, and letting these communications precede in all possible instances any advance of cash.

Bombay, 15th August, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 146)
President's Minute.

1803

The death of the late Raoji Appaji, the able and respected Diwan *New* of the Gaikwad Government, portended disquietude on several accounts ; *Diwan* but such has proved the confidence inspired in the great body of the natives from our alliance with that State that an event of such local importance has passed without the smallest indication of disturbance either at the capital of Baroda or hitherto in the provinces, although, had our interposition not been at hand, a very different result might in the opinion of the best information on the spot have been manifested.

Major Walker had however judiciously provided for everything as far as human prudence could guard against uncertain contingency, particularly by inducing Raoba (as Raoji Appaji was also called) to adopt Sitaram, his eldest nephew, the son of the senior brother of himself and of Babaji, who being at the head of the mulukgiri forces now acting in Kathiawar, it was apprehended that, however preferable was on the whole our promoting the election of Sitaram, his uncle might become disgusted with this preference, and occasion perhaps some trouble in consequence ; nor did his first communication to the Resident entirely dispel this fear ; since it was thought to be written with a degree of reserve (as per translated copy) which portends a latent disgust at his nephew (now called Sitaram Raoji) having thus become his superior ; but the further letter (No. 2) addressed to Sitaram Raoji himself and to his younger brother Sakharam (though with principal reference to the former) is considered by every one that has seen it, to be as fully and

unequivocally expressed in favour of the said Sitaram's promotion as could be desired, and contains besides so many just sentiments and affectionate expressions and such appropriate and fond advice that it may, I presume, be deemed not unworthy of a place on our records, and of being communicated to the Supreme Government and to the Resident at Poona for his own and General Wellesley's information.

No. 1 Babaji Appaji to Major Walker, dated 23rd July.

Grief Your letter of the 19th July arrived this day.

The command of God has alighted on Baba Saheb (Raoba). This is a doleful event, but fate cannot be averted; therefore you advise the machinations of the disaffected (Makari [*Malharrao*], Kakari [*Kanhoji*]) to be guarded against, and the forts of Visnagar, Patan, Vadnagar and Kadi to be well garrisoned. Great is my grief this day at the tidings of Baba's death. What could I communicate in a letter? My melancholy is grown into a mountain. He who was our help, spread over us his protecting hand, him has God taken away, and thrown us off as it were defenceless. These reflections raise in my bosom inexpressible regret and shake my very understanding.

Vittoba Pilaji has communicated more composedly my state of sorrow and of hope; but nothing can make me forget the loss of my worthy brother. All my hope and the honour of this country is to be derived from you.

Whatever will for our comfort, I trust you will confirm and keep both sons (meaning Sitaram and Sakharām) happy.

For Makari (or Malharrao) make not yourself uneasy; and as to the forts I have written for them to be on their guard; but on all quarters there are enemies waiting to approach; only make up the means to meet them and permit no slackening of friendship between friends. To this effect you should write in your own way to the Governor; all our dependence is on the Hon'ble Company, who will not, I persuade myself, let drop the smallest part of their friendship for us after the death of our brother.

The preservation of our respectability and the treatment we have heretofore experienced, now remains with you to pursue.

Bhai Saheb, you have two young men there (Sitaram and Sakharām); they must be sad; cheer them, and put them in the way (of doing business). As for myself, whatever you order, I will write hereafter the rest.

Major Walker's Comment.

Comment The Shastri thinks that Babaji by the concluding promise means to express his sentiments in another letter on the agents that are proper to be appointed to the Administration and that the desire of putting two in the management does not give his approbation of one, i.e. Sitaram to be Diwan.

Again if we take the simple meaning of Babaji's words, they are friendly and affectionate; and if he is to write more clearly hereafter, ambiguity at present appears useless.

Babaji, aware of the poverty of Raoba's immediate heir, has remitted half a lakh of Rupees to defray the expenses attending the last ceremonies performed in honour of his brother.

No. 2. Babaji Appaji to Sitaram Bawa and Sakharam Diwanji.

Bawa Saheb, before my elder brother died, he had acquired fame on earth, and then obtained a place in paradise. Now all is on your head. You must fortify yourself for the preservation of this fame. *Condoles and advises*

Bawa, his virtues were excellent. Let not yours fall short. Despire the poison of grief, and give comfort to the mourning survivors.

Bawa, my grief is great, and my bosom will never be free from sorrow when I think of my elder brother gone, but we must work through time that is to come, as we cannot recall the past. It is over, when God pleases to say it shall be so. Compose your mind, and devote it to the preservation of tranquillity by such acts as were observed to that end in other times.

I learn that Madhavrao Tatya has thrown aside the strength of his soul, and sat him down in sorrow. You should speak some kind words to soothe him; and in all matters, great or small, ask Tatya's advice. He is afflicted at the earlier fate of his firm friend, our elder brother; but you must console him.

Bawa, though it is true my melancholy is most keen on the death of a dear brother, yet, as you inherit his name, I feel a degree of ease from the assurance that you will also consider the welfare of all those he loved and left behind. Turn therefore sad reflections from your presence, for they can never bring back the lost treasure. Now trace and establish deeds of wise policy in all quarters, and attend occurrences, and favour me with advices of what happens from time to time. Bawa, you were near, and had all the trouble of serving my infirm brother. I was unfortunate not to be able to see him and say farewell. Fate is a determinator, but I am distressed at not having had a sight of him, above anything which can be shown on paper.

Eight or ten times I intended to come and see him, but as often put it off, expecting time and opportunity. It is proper his funeral obsequies be genteelly conducted. Tatya talked of it to Bapu, who wrote to me thereon. Why should that be a subject of conversation? Tatya will know what is right, and according to our means let it be done. Should five or ten more than supposed be necessary, never mind. His merits were many, and he was respected, and his memory must not suffer from a little saving, as I have written to Bapu, who will tell you particularly.

Bawa, he is gone, who spread his protecting eye over us all (literally who was our chatra). After him you are our chatra, our older brother delivered us all over to you, as he took care of us all, and kindly forgave our offences, so must you treat us.

Bawa, your are the chatra [*umbrella=protector*] of all, and we all look to you as we did to our elder brother to serve him obediently, in that I place my happiness. Whosoever swerves from obedience, or disowns his dependence, will meet the merited reward. You should now therefore dismiss the diffidence of youth, and apply night and day your mind to the wise administration of your Master's affairs, so that not the smallest room may be left for abuse; you will find your interest in diligence.

Bawa, I have converted my breast into a place of strength and have submitted my sentiments so fully to you at such an awful period.

Bending to the will of the Almighty, whose works must go on, give me courage to attempt it. I received a letter of condolence from Major Walker, which I have acknowledged. You must never have a difference of opinion, and in all points of any importance you should ask and be guided by the Major's advice. As our eldest brother acted, do you also, neither more nor less. He always exhorted us to confide in him, and it becomes us not to deviate therefrom. What can I write more?

1803 *Bombay, 19th August, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 146)*

Transcripts of letters.

No. 1. *Sitaram Raoji to Jonathan Duncan, dated 22nd July, received 10th August.*

Grief and request I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt after the elapse of many days of Your Honour's letter dated 20th June, 1803, and perfectly observed the contents mentioned therein. Previous to the receipt of the letter in question, Raoba's health was much impaired, which threw us into the greatest consternation, and occasioned me to not reply sooner. I believe Gopalrao Baba may have communicated this circumstance to Your Honour that, after the exertion of the skilful British doctors proved in vain to restore Raoba from expiring, alas! on the 18th July, 1803, the poor man was no more. God has thus subjected us to a very heavy loss; he was esteemed as the shelter of our posterity; on this head the hand of God how much we feel, cannot be described; it is God's pleasure, and there is no remedy. The State having alone the support of Your Honour, while our parent sought refuge under the shadow of Your Honour's feet and made a pillow of Your Honour's knees, both the protection and providing us entirely rested with Your Honour. The character of us and of our Government no one can save except Your Honour who is in every respect esteemed by us in the room of our parent and supporter. The strong establishment of the friendship subsisting between the Gaikwad and the Hon'ble Company is famous in the world. We hope it may lead Your Honour to preserve it to the end and keep in contemplation the promotion of our State; upon this subject I rely on Gopalrao Baba's verbally requesting Your Honour in my favour, from whose relation Your Honour will be acquainted.

The brother, Major Saheb, provides all my wants, and is averse to seeing me stand in need of anything. This is the effect of Your Honour's protection, who is the holy god of the poor. The time of taking pain for those who are accepted under the roof of favourable protection is now at hand. What can I write more? We pray that your esteem, and affection may be preserved to us.

No. 2. *Letter from Jonathan Duncan to Sitaram Raoji, dated 12th August.*

Condoles and hopes Your letter of the 2nd of Rabial-akhir was put into my hand yesterday by your relation, the respectable Gopalrao, who has from the first been a true well-wisher to both sarkars.

How can I describe to you the real affliction that I have felt at the death of that worthy man, your parent, the late Raoji Appaji, who is now in *kailasa*. In all the 30 years I have been in India, never have I seen a more worthy character either in Bengal, Benares, Malabar, or

elsewhere, than was your late much respected father ; nor can I foresee any ground of real consolation for his loss, but in the frequent and uniform accounts I have had of your being of a like praiseworthy disposition, whence I look forward not only to the permanency but to the improvement of the happy system of union and intimate alliance that bind the two States, and under which they will, I trust, continue to flourish together as long as time shall endure.

Not doubting but that the very respectable Major Walker and you have frequent meetings for the purpose of conducting every point incident to peace or war and all other concerns of importance to the best advantage, I need only refer you to him for the detailed expression of my sentiments, after once for all assuring you that, as I look upon you as justly and worthily occupying the place and dignity of Raoba, so will you experience from me the same regard, convinced as I am that your constant endeavour will be to continue to merit it.

No. 3. Letter from Sitaram Raoji to Jonathan Duncan, dated 25th July.

On the 2nd Rabial-akhir I wrote you of the death of my father *Request* (original : his becoming an inhabitant of kailasa), which will have reached you. He committed me to the care of the Company and took his leave of this world.

Major Walker has seen the present distress of this Government and will have communicated the same to you, Sir.

After my father, it falls to your share to support my credit. While you keep other great governments in order, we may hope to keep all right here. But there are many public demands or old differences in this government, to reconcile which and go on smoothly in future depends entirely upon you ; and I trust you will take it into consideration and make an early provision to meet them. Indeed it is principally to prepare you against these events that I write at present. In these times, Sir, you are by heaven endowed with wisdom as it were to aid one of weak understanding. Major Walker's more particular communications will acquaint you with the state of affairs.

No. 4. Letter from Madhavrao Gopal Tatya to Jonathan Duncan, dated 25th July.

On Monday, the 18th July, my much beloved friend Raoji was visited by the mandate of the Almighty ; of this event you will have been ere now apprised. Before he became an inhabitant of kailasa (Elysium) Baba Saheb said to me, "I have put my son, Sitaram Bapu, under the protection of the Governor and to look to him for help, the Governor will not allow him to be opposed with difficulties." *Request*

We all trust to you, Sir, for the good of this country, knowing that none but yourself are able to remove the obstacles to it, and we hope you will accomplish these objects to the joy of him who is in heaven, and that it may be heard in the world the deeds which you have done for him, who held your hand (who confided in you).

No. 5. Letter from Jonathan Duncan to Sitaram Raoji, dated 19th August.

I have received your letter of the 5th Rabial-akhir through the *Assurances* very respectable Major Walker ; and having previously replied at length

under date the 12th of August to the communication from you on the same subject, which I received through Gopalrao, I need only refer to that letter and to the contents of that which was written by this Government to the Resident on the occasion of the loss of the worthy Raoji Appaji, which we still all lament ; having now only further to assure you of the great satisfaction I receive from the very favourable accounts of Major Walker's frequent reports of your proceedings, and of your and his arrangements for carrying on the public business, and for attending to the defence of the country, on which I rely that you and he will not fail to experience every assistance and cordial co-operation from Sitaram Bapu and Kakaji, to both of whom you will send my best remembrances and assure them of the Hon'ble Company's regard and protection.

No. 6. Letter from Jonathan Duncan to Madhavrao Gopal Tatya, dated 19th August.

Hopes Your letter with the sorrowful intelligence of our much respected friend, Raoji Appaji, having departed this life, filled me with the utmost affliction ; but, this being a path which all of us must sooner or later tread, it becomes us to resign ourselves with patience and submission to the divine pleasure, and you may rest assured that Sitaram Raoji and yourself possess the most favourable regards of the Hon'ble Company ; for further particulars I refer to Major Walker, who frequently writes me of the satisfaction he derives from your able assistance, which must always ensure to you the countenance of this Government.

1803 *Camp, 26th August, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 154)*
Babaji Appaji to Jonathan Duncan.

Letters It is long since I have been favoured with a letter from Your Honour ; and as you have not written, I am anxious to hear of your welfare. Your Honour through friendship called me to remembrance by a letter dated 30th July, written in the Persian language, which I duly received on the 23rd of August, and derived much pleasure from its contents, and hope Your Honour will continue to favour me with similar marks of your kindness, which will be a source of happiness to me.

Raoji In this letter you state the melancholy news of Raoji Appaji's departure from this life, but there is no remedy against the divine will of the Almighty. He is cut off from the enjoyment of this world, but is gone to Paradise ; and we reciprocally regret his loss, which has involved us in grief and lamentation ; but alas ! we have no power to avert this misfortune, which is a fate inevitable to all mankind ; and as regret and sorrow cannot avail, it is, as you observe, better to bear this calamity with courage and submit to the decrees of fate. The respectable Raoba Baba was like a father and mother to us all, and during his lifetime even the vision of grief did not make its appearance, and he conducted the sarkar's service with success and facility, but God has been pleased to take my elder brother to heaven, and I cannot express my grief on the occasion ; but he is gone, and we are involved in a sea of sorrow, which nobody can mitigate but God and Your Honour ; for his remembrance is impressed on our bosoms, but you console us and encourage us to continue to exert ourselves as before.

This Government, Hon'ble Sir, is in distress and in want of money ; besides which, the insurrection of the enemy continues, and no other person has the ability to manage the affairs of Government like my elder brother ; and with his capability and Your Honour's support we had nothing to fear.

Your wish is that this Government should continue as before the death of our elder ; adding we shall benefit thereby ; and Major Walker Saheb has preferred a request to Shrimant to grant a sanad and khilat to Sitaram Babu as Diwan and to deliver to him the management of the affairs of Government in the usual manner ; and I rejoice at this, more than I can express. I have assurances in every respect from Your Honour and expect to meet with success, under which hopes I have continued already to serve the sarkar to my utmost. Sitaram

I wished to have marched towards Baroda ; but in consequence of the remittances due to the troops and merchants from the mulukgiris for these five years past, they [*the troops*] remained to accomplish this. Malharrao Gaikwad and Mukundrao Gaikwad have jointly collected 4 or 5 thousand men and continue to disturb the country of Sorath—[*which*] would have been plundered, and the enemy would have increased. I therefore remained to manage the mulukgiri, and likewise in endeavouring to punish Malharrao, who, fearing the English forces, has retreated 50 kos ; but this is of no consequence ; for, if I have support enough from Your Honour, our enemies will be punished. Kanhoji Gaikwad, Shivram and some Arab jamadars are stationed at Sagwara and create insurrections, but the Major Saheb is endeavouring to punish them also, and they will be defeated, for nobody can stand before the English army. At present Your Honour has much business to manage of consequence, but you continue to communicate with the Major Saheb on these subjects, by which means I have support enough from Your Honour in every respect and beg you will order such arrangements to be made in the government thereof as you may think proper, and I will never deviate from your wishes. If the affairs of Government are soon arranged, it will be eligible for me, and it will also preserve the reputation of the respectable deceased. I therefore request Your Honour will communicate all these circumstances to me. Absence

The news relative to this Government, etc. Your Honour will receive information of, and Sitaram Babu may have written to you on the same subject. My wish is to have once the pleasure of waiting on Your Honour ; but, when I shall have this satisfaction, I cannot tell. Be so good to write to the Major Saheb in my behalf and direct him to continue his protection towards me ; and as I cannot have a personal interview with Your Honour, favour me with a letter. It is useless to say more on the subject of some part of this letter, for the decrees of God are inevitable, and Your Honour must now support and protect me ; for you, who guided my actions, ought to support my reputation and guard my prosperity. Wishes

Section B: BARODA—BOMBAY RELATIONS

Bombay, 3rd September, 1803 (1803/04, P. D. Let to C. of Dir. 4)
Bombay to the Company.

1803

We are however concerned to have occasion to notice to Your Sitaram

Hon'ble the Court the death of the late able minister of the Gaikwad State, Raoji Appaji, through whom it was our President succeeded in 1801 in laying the foundation of our present connection with the Baroda Government, and that our Resident at the Court has since so successfully promoted the objects of that connection. Raoba has however been succeeded in the diwanship by his nephew, Sitaram, whom he adopted with the assent of Raja Anandrao to be his heir and successor, and who, as having assumed the administration in a great degree under our auspices, promises to follow the example of his predecessor by a sedulous co-operation with the Resident in devising the means of reducing the expenses of the State, in promoting its internal quiet and good government, and securing it against the threatened inroads of Malharrao and Kanhoji, the former of whom is now marauding with a considerable force on the northwest frontier of Gujarat, while the latter since his expulsion from that province, as already reported to your Hon'ble Court, has continued to infest the rajaships on the northeast frontier, though neither have yet ventured within the proper dominion of the Raja, our ally.

1803 *Baroda, 1st November, 1803 (1804, S. & P. D. 155)*

Alexander Walker to Jonathan Duncan.

Plan On Sitaram's succession to the office of his late father, he expressed a becoming diffidence in his own powers of conducting the duties of such an arduous station, and pressed so earnestly to give him my sentiments on the conduct he should pursue, that I was induced to reduce them to writing. I thought also by adopting this method that I should more easily and more lastingly point out the errors he ought to avoid, and that I would at the same time be enabled to judge of the disposition of the new Diwan from the reception which he might give to advices, in themselves by no means easy of execution, and some of them operating against his private interests or of those of his family.

Advice Having resolved to try this experiment, I presented the enclosed paper to Sitaram, shortly after the event above-mentioned, desiring him to consider it as the production of a person anxious for his welfare and that of his Government; but advising him, as the path I had pointed was difficult, not to come to any hasty decision on it and to consult deliberately with his friends, especially with Babaji, before he came to any determination.

Should any peculiarities in this paper engage your attention, Hon'ble Sir, I respectfully beg you will hold in mind that it is calculated for existing circumstances, intended for the condition of the Gaikwad State, and framed on the best principles of government understood here; since by exceeding them and adopting a more perfect system the instruction would have been considered impracticable or visionary.

Sitaram agrees These instructions Sitaram has several times read over before me and unequivocally assented to them, forcibly declaring it to be his wish to reform the abuses of this Government and to be guided by my views, but expressing his fear of engaging in a work of this risk and magnitude without the assurance of some pecuniary support. On the grounds of your letter of the 17th of August, I have intimated to the Diwan that you might probably assist him to a limited extent, provided you were satisfied that the expense was absolutely necessary, and that his own administration met with your approbation.

I have described the real view of things to Sitaram, not to discourage, but to animate him ; and I have held out the resources of the country as sufficient, managed with economy and integrity, for all the necessary purposes of the government entrusted to his charge. This certainly will be the case at the end of less than two years, when a revenue of 16 or 18 lakhs of Rupees will revert to the State by the release of the athavisi and the mahals mortgaged to the Company and the Parekhs ; but until this period, and the operation of a better policy shall have some trial, it is scarcely possible to conceive how the present Administration can protract its existence without an aid in money.

The members of the Administration are poor, and Babaji is the *Babaji as Diwan* only person of influence in the country, who is supposed [*to be*] in possession of funds that could enable him to conduct the government. There is no doubt but Babaji would be gratified with this situation, and several proposals have been made to me to favour his views, which I have constantly thought it my duty to discourage. Should Sitaram however be unable to discharge the necessary expenses of government, his administration must be dissolved by its own inability and weakness. This is an event which Raoba's family look forward to without the Company's assistance, and it is their intention in such a case to invite Babaji to take charge of the administration, although few of them wish to be under his rule ; but it will be the only expedient left for securing their own situations and perpetuating the power of their family by placing this relation at the head of affairs.

To give a proper degree of vigour and authority to the Gaikwad *Difficulties* Administration it would be necessary that it could command readily two or three [*hundred*] thousand Rupees. Such a fund would enable it to pay off and discharge or reduce, as the case might require, its unnecessary establishments, and by degrees to introduce system and order into its departments, where everything is in confusion, and the officers frequently in a state of disobedience with impunity, from the want of means to satisfy their just demands. At present the Government cannot speak with firmness to its servants, nor inquire into their abuses, nor resist their usurpations, because it is in their debt and incapable, either of doing them justice, or of discarding them as a mark of its displeasure.

Babaji was among the first of Sitaram's relations to approve of the advices that I have given for the conduct of the Diwan, and in a friendly letter expressed his approbation ; but in a very prudent and sensible manner he cautioned his nephew to attempt reforms, so extensive in their nature, by degrees. The Dasara and Divali holidays intervening, and more pressing affairs requiring attention, this subject was allowed to lie over.

These obstacles being removed, Sitaram has now given his assent *Promise* in writing to the advices ; first by a short memorandum or minute opposite to each article, and secondly in a letter explaining more generally, but at the same time more explicitly, his sentiments and views. Nothing can be more satisfactory than these declarations of Sitaram, which, conferring on us new power, afford the strongest marks of confidence and attachment, and discover an honourable disposition to improve the state of his Government. You will however remark,

Hon'ble Sir, that he has been encouraged to follow this line of conduct by relying on your assistance ; and should he be disappointed in this, it is not likely that Sitaram will plunge himself into the labyrinth of reform, or hold the reins of Government with that vigorous grasp which can alone render his administration respectable.

As I am aware that there may be some of the articles in the paper of advices that require explanation, I have annexed such an elucidation as I imagine may be necessary in a separated enclosure.

In order also that you may judge of the wants of the Government, I enclose a schedule of the late amount of its necessary expenses for the current year.

The greater part or the whole of this estimate must be provided by loans, which under the present circumstances cannot be obtained on favourable terms. A confidence however in the support of the Company will induce the merchants to come forward, and under their countenance a provision may be made to meet the expenses of the year.

No. 1. Major Walker's advices to Sitaram, dated Baroda, August, 1803.

Your principal duty is to clear the State of abuses, to administer justice strictly, to maintain order, peace and plenty in the Gaikwad dominions.

This constitutes the basis of every good government, you have seen and remarked the disadvantages of the former management.

Darbar 1. The influence of the late Administration was weakened by the custom of its principal members admitting great and small to sit down in their presence at all times, and arguing their business often too warmly before them. It would be well therefore to imitate the conduct of the late Nana Fadnavis, who regularly sat in the Darbar and gave audience from two ghurries in the day to two ghurries in the night (from about 6 to 8 p.m.), receiving the salutations of all.

Sitaram's answer: I promise to observe this rule.

Army 2. Madhavrao Tatya should transact with the agents of cavalry and infantry officers the concerns of the army, reporting the state of things to the Diwan and receiving his commands, which would preserve the authority of the Diwan and conduce to the interests of the State.

Sitaram's answer : I promise to observe this rule.

Darbar 3. Should His Highness the Raja choose that you should attend the Darbar, you should repair to the palace every evening and obtain his seal to the public deeds of the day.

Sitaram's answer : I promise to observe this rule.

Dharna 4. The silahdars and pagadars of the sibandi or the officers of the army ought not to be allowed to sit in dharna ; but their rights should be ascertained and settled through their agent or agents by the sarkar in this way. Such claims as they would sit in dharna for, should be fairly examined and satisfied, before they cause trouble by having recourse to an expedient unbecoming on their parts and disgraceful to their superiors. This custom should be abolished, since it discovers at once a want of subordination and a weakness in the Government. The officers will themselves relinquish this improper practice when they find a sincere disposition to do them justice.

Sitaram's answer : I promise to observe this rule to the utmost of my power.

5. The revenue funds have been farmed, and extravagant and unnecessary expenditures have been incurred on large establishments *Useless men* in the districts; wherefore only such establishments as are necessary for maintaining authority and ensuring the recovery of the revenue funds should be retained, and the supernumeraries discharged.

Sitaram's answer: I will not fail to endeavour to reform these abuses.

6. Four periods for paying rents by instalment should be fixed, *Rents* and the custom of receiving revenue by rusud everywhere abolished. Where districts are leased on makta, and where collected by the officers of Government on cutcha, the amount agreed upon or assessed (suppose a thousand or any number) must be exacted to the full by Government.

Sitaram's answer: I will try to establish this mode of collecting.

7. Except the avowed allowances by Government, the jamadars *Ryots* and collectors should be made to account for sukhdi and dayete to the sarkar, and enjoined not to oppress the lower orders, whose protection enriches the State.

Sitaram's answer: I will also attend to this.

8. The country of the Surat athavisi is fallen off from its former *Athavisi* value. The ryots there should be supported in order to restore cultivation and the produce to the extent of former times. The sibandi or armed establishment should be fixed for the advantage of the State.

The fears or vanity of the amildars should not be allowed to augment their number, nor ought jealousies and discord amongst its officers be causes of doubt and indecision in the Government, which on the contrary should oblige its servants to carry into effect their just commands.

Sitaram's answer: I will also attend to this.

9. The pagadars and silahdars (or officers of cavalry, the first *Dumali* mounted on the horses of the sarkar, the second on their own) have got dumali-gaons (villages the rents of which do not flow into the public treasury), some of which are worthless, and others more than they are rated by the sarkar; such as are worth more, let the supplies stand charged against their names.

Sitaram's answer: I will also attend to this.

10. The forts and outposts, garrisons and guards, ammunition *Forts* and stores, should be annually inspected and deficiencies supplied.

Sitaram's answer: I will endeavour to obtain the means and apply it.

11. As in the late administration there was a want of good *Kasids* intelligence concerning surrounding friends and foes, the Diwan should entertain forty or fifty pairs of kasids with a person of competent knowledge at their head, and by dispersing them over all the quarters of the kingdom and stationing them in the principal places far and near keep himself apprised of the actions and intentions of Malharrao and Kanhojirao, as well as of the Peshwa, the Bhonsla, Sindia, Holkar and others.

Sitaram's answer: I must discharge the arrears of kasids and keep a proper establishment.

12. The Peshwa's possessions in Ahmadabad should be preserved *Ahmadabad* in the power of Raghunath Mahipat (Kakaji); and instead of the late

practice of remitting the collections to another, the rents, arising from his rights there, should be regularly sent to the Peshwa himself, in which case, the Peshwa being pleased, the premises may continue under the care of Kakaji without any charge.

Sitaram's answer : Approved.

Anand Rao 13. The Diwan should place near the person of the Raja a confidential agent to cultivate the goodwill of His Highness and prevent evil-disposed or mean people having access to him to pervert his friendly affections. Then affairs will go on prospering.

Sitaram's answer : Approved.

Collectors 14. The country is covered with assignments on account of annual allowances for various purposes and of contingents. From the assignees the collectors unauthorised demand heavy rates of exchange, and derive therefrom considerable sums, which extortions should be brought to the public account, or the collector compelled to complete the amount assigned.

Sitaram's answer : Approved.

Merchants 15. The merchants of the city should be excluded from the Darbar and interference in the political economy of the province as heretofore at their pleasure.

Sitaram's answer : Approved.

Officers 16. Should the officers of horse, infantry or sibandi, not having fear, render a false return (of their corps, troops or companies), Government should obtain just ones ; their allowances should be revised, batta, chaauth, Darbar kharch [*expenses*] and such deductions should be obliterated, and a certain pay fixed and issued monthly ; the consequence will be a fitness for service in the hour of need, filled with gratitude and obedience, instead of the discontent and dharna displayed at present.

Sitaram's answer : These reforms will be attempted, but their arrears must be paid ; for which we are in need of aid.

Mint 17. There is a mint in Baroda ; the amount that might be derived from it, is not properly known. The quantity of alloy in the coining of Rupees should be justly regulated, and the right to make money rented for a year.

Sitaram's answer : It shall be done

Horses 18. The horses belonging to Government should be taken an account of and examined, a judgment formed of the forage necessary for each, and means should not be omitted for making the feed of the beasts reach them fairly.

Sitaram's answer : It shall be attended to.

Guns 19. The park of artillery is in great disorder, such of the guns as are good for anything should be set on new carriages, and the necessary ammunition with bullocks and gunners should be kept constantly ready for service.

Sitaram's answer : This too wants money, more than we have in hand.

Camels 20. There is an establishment of camels, but they are neglected. They should be well fed, and fit when wanted for the field. They should be examined and an account taken of them.

Sitaram's answer : They will be attended to.

Enemies 21. As soon as the hostile designs of anyone is ascertained, he

should be punished; promptitude on such occasions is as salutary as delay is dangerous.

Sitaram's answer : Approved.

22. The whole expense of the Military Establishment should be confined to ten or ten and half lakhs of Rupees annually; and if on mustering, the pay of the actual number, present [at] it, amounts to more than that, they should be disbanded down to that mark. Sakharam Chinnaji, and Raghunath Mahipat, and Mir Kamal-ud-din Husain will remain as they are. *Army pay*

Sitaram's answer : It will be attempted, as soon as the present arrears are liquidated, and it is possible.

23. The dumali-gaons should be taken into consideration; that is to say, an inquiry into those that have been granted heretofore, and the services now returned by the incumbents, and the expenses incurred thereby; then let such only as are necessary remain to be held apart from assessment to the sarkar. *Dumali*

Sitaram's answer : Services and rewards will be observed and every possible reform [will be made]. A scrutiny will be made into these grants, and those which have been improperly granted, resumed.

24. For the administration of justice a man must be selected, who will not swallow a bribe, and whose understanding is clear; and his instructions should shortly be to inform himself in matters of complaint, and to report the state of the case to the Diwan, who will attend and consider the right and wrong and deliver a decree in favour of the former and punish the latter according to his degree of guilt. *Justice*

Sitaram's answer : A fit person will be appointed.

25. Inams and allowances at the feast of Dasara should be distributed with discrimination and to such only as deserve marks of distinction. *Gifts*

Sitaram's answer : We will discriminate.

26. There are 75,000 Rupees now appropriated to assami (literally, Assami men, few of whom perform any service) of whom the necessary and unnecessary should be distinguished, and a preference given to old servants of the sarkar by being perpetuated in employ; the rest should be unreservedly discharged. *Assami*

Sitaram's answer : The fittest will be preferred, and the rest shall be unreservedly discharged.

27. The garrisons now maintained are merely visionary, or at least nothing near the numbers that are stated; this deserves a serious scrutiny; and if a necessary establishment only is entertained, a great saving will accrue to the State. It should speedily be set on foot. *Garrisons*

Sitaram's answer : A scrutiny will take place, but the funds must be found.

28. In the chits or writings, sanctioning the issue of provisions from the modikhana, will be found the articles expended; their prices at the several periods and the weights used should be particularly inquired into, and the contractor or Modi given credit to accordingly; and in the cheapest season it would be well to lay up a store of each article for the year from the bazar, or it would be better to collect them where they are produced at the cheapest rates in this country. *Provisions*

Sitaram's answer : Approved.

Baroda 29. The police at Baroda is bad ; there are no proper regulations for the bazar, and the rate of exchange is not attended to. A steady person should be kept to traverse the streets and look into shops and learn the price of commodities, the rate of exchange and currency of silver, of gold mohurs and Venetians, bills upon Bombay, Poona, Surat and other marts, and report the same at the evening levy.

Sitaram's answer : Approved.

Information 30. There are many ill-designing people about Baroda, who do a great deal of mischief, but nobody looks after them. Several persons should be appointed to stroll about the streets and by-places in the town and suburbs, night and day, to notice how many and what description of strangers visit the capital, and where they haunt, and whither their journey leads them, to pick up the sentiments and know the conduct of the citizens, what number of soldiers of fortune or others wandering for bread enter the walls, and how many go or stay, and who amongst the townspeople peregrinate into the country. A report of all these observations should be furnished to the Diwan daily in writing.

Sitaram's answer : Approved.

Debts 31. The rusud of the Kadi taluka is not to be taken this year ; 1,50,000 Rupees for Sinor pargana [*are to be paid*] to the Company and the merchants, and a sum for the transferred Kimkathodra customs to Parbhudas Seth, and the balance of the account settled at Cambay in favour of the Company, then amounting to 7,30,000 Rupees, has been laid upon Kadi ; the collections therefore from Kadi should be made to reach the Company and the merchants as they are collected monthly. This would not let so much interest fall upon the sarkar. It will besides be creditable to the sarkar, and money-lenders will be less loath to come forward again.

Sitaram's answer : After deducting the expenses of the establishments, what remains will be appropriated as proposed, but Babaji and Mir Kamal-ud-din Husain Khan, being security for the Rupees 7,30,000 contracted at Cambay, must give satisfaction for it, or show the way.

32. Since Kadi including Dehgam has come into the power of Government there has been no establishment settled, which should be done to the necessary extent, and the balance applied to discharge the Sinor and Chowkey transfers and balance of the Company's bond of 7,30,000 Rupees.

Sitaram's answer : The establishment will be settled for the interest of Government.

Athavisi 33. The Surat athavisi is mortgaged to Parbhudas Seth, who has the Company's security for it. The rusud therefrom is not to be taken [*this*] year ; therefore it is necessary that you exhort the manager to pay the first kist as soon as it becomes due in Bhadrapad and the rest with regularity.

Sitaram's answer : Agreed to.

Gifts 34. The late Fatesingrao Gaikwad, Manaji and Govindrao Gaikwad made gifts in their reigns ; these should be minutely investigated and the cash involved therein turned to meet the public wants, without fear or love.

Sitaram's answer : Approved.

35. Formerly the Gaikwad wives had no fixed allowances ; on this *Women* side of two years they have increased exceedingly, the cause of which should be examined into, and the old usage be again observed.

Sitaram's answer : It will be attempted.

36. Doomsay, the silahdar, says his accounts make him your *Doomsay* creditor for 2,50,000 Rupees. In this assertion the rest will join him, but it is not to be believed that ever their numbers of men amounted to what they allege, or what was admitted to be in their establishment, since it was because of his (Doomsay's) weakness he was wounded and taken prisoner to the discredit of his Government. His accounts therefore should be examined, and what is erroneous thrown out, and a certain sum settled to be paid by four instalments through his banker, paying down the amount of the first and the remainder after six months between each. In the meantime he is discharged, give him his leave.

Sitaram's answer : Will do it ; but Doomsay's demands are only Rupees 2,30,000, from which Rupees 75,000 have been thrown out ; he has got a varat for 75,000 Rupees ; he has [therefore] only 80,000 Rupees to be satisfied for.

37. The Government cannot go on without money, and there is *Taxes* none in the country ; the treasury of the State is empty, and the merchants will not open their purses. In such cases to levy contributions is not uncommon in the Maratha States so reduced to poverty ; but limits should regulate these levies, and not ambition or avarice ; suppose then throughout the towns and villages of the territories belonging to the Gaikwad a tax be laid on all houses of 5, 3, and 1 Rupees for large, middling, and humbler dwellings, the amount of the whole would be considerable and satisfy some of the numerous wants of Government.

Sitaram's answer : By whatever ways money can be raised, it will be tried, and this method with others.

38. Raghoba Kaka and Amin Saheb with all the Sindhis should *Army* take post between Kapadvanj and Artasumba, ready to oppose Kanhoji, whose oppressions then would not be felt in this country ; and Kakaji should take a tour along the banks of the Mahi, securing the Mewasis and sending in the collections, which would be the signs of his success. This would move the merchants to grant the loan that will soon again be required.

Sitaram's answer : They are now in front of the enemy, but the effectual aid of the Company is necessary.

39. The Company's troops have gone to Songarh, and Govindba *Songarh* Mama has gone thitherwards, and a detachment has been ordered to accompany him, but none of them have yet started. You should therefore give them instructions to go immediately and protect the peasantry of the athavisi from the predatory incursions of the Pathans.

Sitaram's answer : Govindba's quota is now with Colonel Murray.

40. The late Govindrao Gaikwad, when he came to Baroda, took *Gifts* nazranahs from his amildars, jamadars, darakdars, jasus and others, and something in this way at this time might serve the public a little.

Sitaram's answer : Nazranahs will be accepted of from those who can afford to give them.

41. Malharrao and Mukundrao are causing confusion in Kathiawar ; *Kathiawar* Babaji Appaji should be charged with the subduing of them, if it should

cost five years' service ; and whosoever holds assignments upon that army should regularly receive the amount of them, in which case the people will be active.

Sitaram's answer : Babaji Appaji will punish them both.

42. Babaji Appaji has entertained additional sibandis or sepoy upon the mulukgiri, whom he must pay off and dismiss upon being joined by English troops.

Sitaram's answer : The new sibandis will be dismissed whenever the Company's troops join Babaji.

Bond 43. For the bond or deed executed at Cambay, whereby Rupees, 7,30,000 were owing to the Company, assignments on the collections of Nadiad and Kadi were given to that Government.

The balance above the amount of both these collections should be paid by assignments on Kathiawar, as it was agreed upon in the lifetime of Raoji Saheb. Now Vittoba Pilaji on the part of the Company is with Babaji ; and if a draft is sent to Vittoba, he will receive the money, which plan should be pursued for present and future good.

Sitaram's answer : Varats have already been furnished in part, and the balance will be paid immediately as proposed.

Dumali 44. In the divisions ceded to the Company are an immense number of dumali-gaons, which it is desired the individual incumbents should release to the Company's management ; and so many as can be released should be given up ; and for such as remain, their value should be made good somewhere else and afterwards released ; but the reasons why their release is urged is because there is no apparent room to make an exchange.

Sitaram's answer : These amount to the annual value of Rupees 85,000. From the year 1804/5 Rupees 35,000 worth of these villages will be transferred to the Company ; for the remaining Rupees 50,000 Mir Kamal-ud-din's assignment in Nadiad will then, too, be transferred to the Company, and he furnished with a varat on another district ; the payment of the total amount in this same year, 1803/04 will be provided by varat on some other source.

Debts 45. Of 11,70,000 Rupees in territory due to the Company, a draft for a lakh of Rupees was to be given upon Kathiawar this year according to Raoba's resolution. You ought therefore to give drafts on Bhavnagar and other places for that amount, when it will be recovered.

Sitaram's answer : As assignment will be given as agreed upon in the additional subsidy.

Army 46. On the late disbanding of the Arabs, new sepoy and the old Sindhis were entertained at the expense, it is believed, of 90,000 or a lakh of Rupees monthly ; now it would be better to take off all taxes from them immediately, reduce the whole to 6 lakhs a year, and pay them twice a year regularly. If they become any length of time in arrears, the ways and means of liquidating them will not be clear when looked for.

Sitaram's answer : It is necessary to pay them before they can be dismissed.

Ahmadabad 47. Upon the Peshwa's share of Ahmadabad mulukgiri assignment will have been made upto the year 1802-03. But no assignments from after 1860 [*Samvat*] ought to be made thereon, because in the time of

the Peshwa's amildars in Ahmadabad that share was most likely stipulated or certain, which henceforth should be settled. There are balances owing on account of Ahmadabad for last year, which ought to be paid.

Sitaram's answer : Assignments have been made, but this advice will be duly attended to.

48. Through the Company and the merchants the disbanded *Debts* Arabs' arrears were paid, which amounted to 22,00,000 Rupees (22 lakhs) ; for 12,95,000 Rupees of which the parganas and customs of Baroda, Rajpipla, Koral, Petlad, Ahmadabad (the Gaikwad share) were assigned; and afterwards Kadi in lieu of Sinor. From that time interest is running on to the disadvantage of the Gaikwad, the knowledge of which has prevented the exaction of *biaj* [*interest*] and *manoti* [*commission*] ; therefore these districts should be attached, and the first fund derived from them applied to the discharge of the money owing to the Company and to the merchants. If afterwards there remains a balance, let it be paid to whom it is justly due ; but, as the merchants are in expectation, these districts and those of the Surat athavisi should be visited, and the first fruits reaped from them applied to the payment of the debts to the merchants, who will on a future occasion furnish their aid.

Sitaram's answer : These funds will not be otherwise appropriated till these debts are discharged.

49. If these rules of conduct and those of Raoba's time appear *Conduct* to you as contrary to the principles of the present Administration, you should assemble and advise the parties, whom [*it*] may affect, of the difficulties that oppose themselves to the old mode of management, but that you have considered the manner of removing them, and then submitting to them all the hints thrown out above (save that about the *nazranah*) written in your style, mark their features, and take the opinion of such as do not approve of the propriety of these plans as to what they would prefer to adopt for the public weal.

Sitaram's answer : I will carefully do so.

50. The Gaikwad forts should be surveyed and repaired, where *Forts* required.

Sitaram's answer : As far as the funds will permit.

51. Forage as much as is necessary to serve the Gaikwad cavalry *Forage* and other cattle should be laid in at the proper season, which would save much expense and trouble.

Sitaram's answer : Approved.

52. The accounts of the collections and other moneys should be *Accounts* made out with care and a check kept upon those of the silahdars, pagadars, sibandis and sowcars.

Sitaram's answer : This department will be regularly conducted.

53. If the allowances to silahdars and others have hitherto been *Salary* exorbitant, they should be retrenched, and such as do not submit to a retrenchment should be dispensed with.

Sitaram's answer : This will be carefully considered.

54. The camp equipage of the sarkar is short, and when wanted *Equipage* is supplied at an enhanced expense. Tents therefore should be prepared at a moderate rate and preserved for the field.

Sitaram's answer : This rule too will be regulated according to the state of the public finances.

Merchants

55. Such agents of merchants or others who have gone to obtain their masters' ends amongst the silahdars or elsewhere, and have got into the employ of Government, should be turned out to a man if possible; or if the continuance of some few of them cannot be dispensed with, let them have a certain salary in cash.

Sitaram's answer : Every endeavour shall be employed with delicacy to effect this point.

Union

56. These observations affect more or less every man great and small in the Administration, who ought to be of one mind, and by discharging the debts of Government hope to get in a few years the full enjoyment of the extensive funds in the districts dependent on Baroda, the athavisi, etc., for ensuring their private ease and efficiency of their public measures.

Sitaram's answer : Approved.

Conclusion

Concluding remark of Sitaram : If the plans proposed in the above 56 paragraphs be pursued, or [*in order*] to act according to them with effect, it will be proper and necessary to advise the Company truly of all receipts, or leave them to the disposal of the Company, who should, on the other hand, assist the Gaikwad Government, in case of a deficiency of cash, to defray its indispensable expenses.

*Sitaram
amenable*

N.B.—*Remarks by Sitaram* : Mutual friendship having long existed betwixt your Government and ours, my predecessor, Raoba, obtained from the Governor of Bombay your appointment to this country and assistance to subdue Malharrao, who unprovokedly rebelled against this Government.

Since your arrival here you have seen the inadequate resources of the State and the expenses of the expedition together with the arrears due to the refractory Arabs discharged, for the liquidation of all which the public funds have been burthened, the Surat athavisi districts have been mortgaged to Parbudas Seth, and territories have been assigned to the Company for three battalions subsidised (meaning 3,000 native infantry and a proportion of artillery), and still the silahdars (an establishment of cavalry in the Gaikwad army) are three years in arrears.

In the meantime my predecessor departed this life; and on his deathbed transferred the case of us to you, telling us that he had obtained the friendship and force of the English Government to secure the interest of the Gaikwad Raja and give effect to my administration, which you are also acquainted with. The poverty of the State is extreme. The prospects of a plentiful season from drought are very distant, which may be added to these trying circumstances.

You have accordingly now been so kind as to afford me advices, contained in fifty-six paragraphs, for my guidance in the administration of the affairs of this country, knowing that the above-stated embarrassments render that administration very difficult. Having laid these before my senior, Babaji, the principal darakdars and mutasaddis for the benefit of their opinions, I have in concurrence therewith annexed answers to each point, and returned them to you, persuaded that, if the plan be pursued for some years effectually, the Government will improve the state of its finances and flourish.

Alexander Walker's comment.

Remarks

Paragraph 7th : It is an annual allowance to the fadnavis, majmudars

and most of the officers attached to the Darbar; every pargana is burthened with a payment of this sort, and the whole amounts to a considerable sum, besides covering various abuses.

Paragraph 31st : The revenues of Kadi may amount to three lakhs and a quarter of clear revenue, two lakhs being allowed for the expenses of management.

The following statement will explain this article :

	Rs.	Rs.	a.	p.
Clear revenue		3,25,000	0	0
Allotted in exchange for Sinor	1,50,000			
Allotted for Kimkathodra customs	33,000			
Tappa ceded to the Company	25,000			
		2,08,000	0	0
		Rs. 1,17,000	0	0

This balance may therefore be expected annually applicable to the Company on account of the bond for 7,80,000 Rupees.

Paragraph 33rd : The Resident recommends for the good of the Gaikwad Government that the rusud should be relinquished, as the interest and premium upon it occasioned yearly a heavy loss to the sarkar.

Paragraph 44th : Sitaram proposes to pay the amount of the dumali-gaons in the Company districts this year by varats; but this arrangement is not yet concluded, and it will be the subject of a separate report.

The proposal however of reducing the amount of these gifts next year by 35,000 Rupees, and of granting another jaidad for that sum, and of providing for the rest by 50,000 Rupees on Nadiad, which is consigned to Kamal-ud-din, appears a fair and unobjectionable mode, provided there is no injustice done to the present holder.

Paragraph 48th : This accommodation became necessary to enable Raoba to provide for the second sibandi.

The parganas of Matar and Monde were mortgaged to some of the silahdars, who could only be prevailed on to relinquish their rights on condition of receiving an assignment on Sinor. This pargana again was mortgaged to the Company and the shroffs; but these latter were prevailed on with some difficulty to make an exchange for an equal portion of the revenues of Kadi. Parbhudas also accepted, but more readily, an assignment on Kadi for the loss he sustained by the cession of the transit customs to the Company. These arrangements and the necessity that made Raoba urge them will be found stated in the 10th paragraph of my address to the Honble the Governor-in-Council.

No. 2. The List of the mahals under Anandrao Gaikwad Senakhaskel Samsher Bahadur.

Baroda pargana, Baroda Syer [Sayar=custom] Kota, Neryaud [Nadiad] pargana, Dholka pargana, Ahmadabad pargana, Putton [Patan] pargana, Beejapoor [Vijapur] pargana, Vagoada [Vaghodia], thana [of] Padra, Uttersoomba [Atarsumba], Tilick Wade [Tilakwada], Kaira fort, Aleyangam village [Alindra?], Soukaira (Sankheda) pargana, Chickley [Chikhli] pargana, Vussaroy [Vasrai] pargana, Coassanavel

[*Kos Anavil*] pargana, Ranghur [*Rangar*] ghat, Mohay [*Mahuva*] pargana, Maroaly [*Maroli*] pargana, Balasur [*Balesar*] pargana, Beesanagur [*Visnagar*] pargana, Vudnagur [*Vadnagar*] pargana, Matter [*Matar*], kasbah Omrat [*Unvethi*], kasbah Bhaulage [*Bhalaj*], Senore [*Sinor*] pargana, Coarel [*Koral*] pargana, Rauj Pimpla [*Rajpipla*] pargana, Moandeh [*Mahudah*] pargana, Kairaloo [*Kheralu*] pargana, thana [of] Chandod, zillah Songhur [*Songarh*], Ally Mohun [*Chota Udepur*], Gala [*Galha*] pargana, Tailaudy [*Teladi*] pargana, Kadoad [*Kadod*] pargana, kasbah Nousarey [*Navsari*], Caumbrage [*Kamrej*] pargana, Tanebay [*Temba*], Vulvada [*Balwara*], kasbah Variavoo [*Variav*], Syer [*Sayar* = *customs*] of Tappy Teer [*Tapti bank*], Veryara [*Vyara*] pargana, Untapoor, Vissenpoor [*Antapur*, *Bisanpur*], Tudkasur [*Tadkeshvar*], bandar Surat, taluka Kurree [*Kadi*], Kanta [*Kantha*], bandar Billimore [*Bilimora*]—Gandavy [*Gandevi*] pargana, Moattay [*Mota*], Chowrasy [*Chorasi*], Dehgaum [*Dehgam*], Kupperbund [*Kapadvanj*], Kattiwar [*Kathiawar*], killadari of Neryaud [*Nadiad*].

No. 3. *Account of the mahals assigned to different persons.*

TO PARBHUDAS SETH :

Tailaudy [*Teladi*] pargana, Kadoad [*Kadod*] pargana, kasbah Nousarey [*Navsari*], Caumbrage [*Kamrej*] pargana, Tanebay [*Temba*] pargana, Maroaly [*Maroli*], Balasur [*Balesar*] pargana, bandar Billimore [*Bilimora*], Gandavy [*Gandevi*] pargana, zillah Songhur [*Songarh*], Vussaroy [*Vasrai*], Coassanavel [*Kos Anavil*], Rimgar [*Rangar*] ghat, Mohay [*Mahuva*] pargana, Vulvada [*Balwara*], kasbah Verivoo [*Variav*], Veyara [*Vyara*] pargana, Untapoor [*Antapur*] and Bissenpoor [*Bisanpur*].

TO THE COMPANY AND SOWCARS :

Baroda pargana, Ahmadabad pargana, Syer Cotta [*Sayar Kota*] of Baroda, Coarel [*Koral*] pargana, Petlaud [*Pellad*] pargana, Kurree [*Kadi*] pargana, Rauj Pimpla [*Rajpipla*].

TO THE HON'BLE COMPANY'S SUBSIDY :

Dholka, Neryaud [*Nadiad*] including the fort, Matter [*Matar*], Moandeh [*Mahudah*], Beejapoor [*Vijapur*], Syer Kimkattodra [*Kimkathodra*], tappa Kurree [*Kadi*], varats for 1,00,000 Rupees.

INAM GIVEN TO THE COMPANY :

Chaurasey [*Charasi*], Chickley [*Chikhli*], Kaira, bandar Surat.

FOR THE MODIKHANA OR HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES OF THE RAJA :

Veesnagar [*Visnagar*], Vudnagur [*Vadnagar*], Putton [*Patan*].

TO SAKHARAM CHIMNAJI AND RAGHU MAHIPAT FOR SIRANJAM :

Gala [*Galha*] pargana.

TO RAJE PANDHRE :

Soukaira [*Sankheda*].

TO AMIN SAHEB :

Uttar Soomba [*Atarsumba*] and Kairaloo [*Kheralu*].

TO MIR HUSAIN :

Kapperbund [*Kapadvanj*], Kasbah Mottay [*Mota*], kasbah Tadksur [*Tadkeshvar*].

TO THE SILAHDARS :

Senore [*Sinor*] pargana.

TO RAMRAO ANANJI :

Tilickwara [*Tilakwada*] pargana.

To MIR KAMAL-UD-DIN:

kasbah Omrat [*Umreth*], Bhaulage [*Bhalaj*] and Meyan Gaum [*Miyagam*].

To THE PAGADARS:

Vagoada [*Vaghodia*] pargana.

On account of 12,00,000 Rupees borrowed of Parbhudas last year the thana of Padra is pledged to him. The ghasdana of Ally Mohan is assigned for the present loan:

Taluka Kadi.—Out of which a tappa for 25,000 Rupees is given in jaidad to the Company; also 1,50,000 Rupees is assigned in lieu of the pargana of Senore [*Sinor*] to the Company and sowcars; and 33,000 Rupees have been assigned to Parbhudas Seth in lieu of Kimkathodra chauki; the remainder shall be reserved to discharge the bond executed by the Gaikwad Government at Cambay to the Company.

Dehgam.—The revenue of this district is assigned for the year on account of the sibandi of Ahmadabad.

Mahi-Kantha and Kathiawar mulukgiri.—Varats granted to the silahdars and pagadars on the funds of 1859 or 1801/2, also two varats given to the Company for 1,00,000 Rupees.

There thus only remain undisposed of 2,000 Rupees, the revenue of Chandod.

*No. 4. Probate estimate of receipts and disbursements of the sarkar
Gaikwad for 1860 or 1803/4.*

Dr.	Rs.
Revenue of the mahals for 1860 or 1803/4	53,00,000
Ditto of Kadi including Dehgam, etc.	5,50,000
Ditto Mahi-Khanta and Kathiawar	5,50,000
	<hr/>
	Rupees .. 64,00,000
	<hr/>
Cr.	
Dumali-gaon	2,00,000
Modikhana	3,00,000
Mahal mazkuri or revenue charges	3,20,000
Ditto for Kadi	1,50,000
	<hr/>
	4,70,000
Mahals assigned to the Hon'ble Company on account of the sibandi	11,70,000
Ditto in inam	2,65,000
	<hr/>
	14,35,000
Military Charges Pagadars at 250 each	3,75,000
Sibandi	6,00,000
	<hr/>
Sakharam Chimnaji and Mahipatrao	40,000
Silahdars	6,75,000
Mir Kamal-ud-din	1,90,000
	<hr/>
	18,80,000

Sibandhi of the forts	..	..	..	..	1,50,000
Dasara, etc.	..	..	..	..	75,000
Charity, etc.	..	..	..	..	35,000
Varshasan or yearly allowance	..	..	..	..	50,000
Asmanidars	..	..	..	..	30,000
Darakdars.	..	..	..	..	30,000
Mahals assigned to the Company and the sowcars on account of the money borrowed	..	..	..	..	12,95,000
Ditto to Parbhudas	..	..	..	..	4,50,000
					<hr/>
Rupees					64,00,000
					<hr/>

No. 5. Extract of a letter from Babaji Appaji to Sitaram Raoji Diwan, dated 26th August, 1803.

Advice Bawa Saheb, I understood from the paper you sent me the line drawn out for your conduct. The advices it contains are all very sensible. Nevertheless you will have much difficulty in acting according to them from the state of the country and finances. You must endeavour to do it by ingenuity. You must throw yourself upon Major Walker, our friend, who will assist you.

Let me know the first of the fifty-six points you intend to effect, which indeed you can only expect after listening to the Major's counsels, who has written so much, all tending to the interests of the State. Yet it would not be right to raise a noise by aiming at all these reforms at once.

It is quite unnecessary to refer matters to me and wait for my opinion. On the contrary you must consult Major Walker and act according to his pleasure, which it should be your study to preserve.

1804 *Bombay Castle, 18th February, 1804 (1804, S & P. D. 155)*
Board to Major Walker.

Approval Having had under our mature consideration your letter of the 1st of November with the accompanying heads of advice, for the guidance of Sitaram, the Diwan, we very much approve of the whole thereof.

Having already acquiesced by the Secretary's letter under date the 17th of August last in your granting the further pecuniary assistance, which by your letter of the 4th of that month you had stated to be indispensable to the support of Sitaram Raoji's diwanship, we have now only to repeat the same, extending it to the full amount of the two or three lakhs which your present communication intimates to be likely to prove requisite, and leaving the period and proportions of these advances to your discretion and to your procuring as good security for the repayment thereof within a given period, as the case may admit of; trusting however that this may be the full extent of the Diwan's demands on the Company's resources, and that the residue of the requisite funds may be raised on the credit of the Gaikwad State under your countenance and approbation, even bhandari, taking that sort of security in the sense which you have assigned to it in your letter of the 29th of January, 1804.

Bombay, 18th February, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 155)
Board to the Marquis of Wellesley.

1804

We have the honour to submit to Your Excellency the copy of a *Bombay* letter from the Resident at Baroda under date the 1st of November *policy* last accompanied by heads of advice from Major Walker for the guidance of Sitaram, the adopted son and successor of the late Raoji Appaji in the office of diwan to the Gaikwad State, inclusive of other interesting information respecting the interior details of that Government.

The candid and cordial manner in which the Diwan has accepted of, and promised to be guided by, the Resident's counsels affords a pleasing prospect that by their united exertions the affairs of Gujarat in general and those of the Gaikwad State in particular may, as we have intimated in our instructions to Major Walker, admit of effectual and permanent, though gradual, reform; a result which cannot fail materially to promote the prosperity of that valuable province.

Under the circumstances stated in the correspondence with Major Walker, we trust that Your Excellency will approve of the more precise acquiescence we have now expressed in confirmation of that intimated under the 17th of August last, in favour of his extending from the recoverances he is now making from the province some further pecuniary assistance to the amount of two or three lakhs of Rupees; which appears to be indispensable to the support of Sitaram Raoji's diwanship at its outset.

We have the pleasure to add that there is hitherto a prospect of as much regularity and success in the collections of the revenue from the Gaikwad and Peshwa's cessions in Gujarat as can reasonably be expected.

No. 2. MALHARRAO'S DEFEAT

(1803—1804)

THE documents deal with Malharrao's final attempt to retrieve his lost fortunes. Malharrao's defeat at Kadi has to be set down to the credit of the British army. But his defeat in Kathiawar was solely effected by Babaji—which goes a long way to prove that the Jagirdar of Kadi was decidedly lacking in generalship; and the question naturally offers whether Raoji Appaji could not have dealt with him without having recourse to English assistance, for which the Baroda State had to pay so high a price.

DOCUMENTS

1803 *Bombay, 5th February, 1803 (1803/04, P. D. Let to C. of Div. 4)*
Bombay to the Company.

Malhar's escape On the occasion of our last general address to your Hon'ble Court of the 30th June, 1802, we adverted to the provision that had been made after the fall of Kadi for Malharrao in the pargana of Nadiad; whither that Chief accordingly, in due course, repaired to take up his residence, and where he continued to live quiet till about the beginning of the last month; when he very unexpectedly absconded, under circumstances of severe bodily indisposition, narrated in the correspondence with the Resident at Baroda; an event which we are however happy to announce is not likely to be productive of any serious ill consequence to the peace of Gujarat; since that Chief's state of health, at the time of his escape, the direction in which he fled, and the information since received of his movements, all concur in inducing a hope that his circumstances are not such (whatever may be his present unknown intentions) as may admit of his disturbing the public tranquillity. According to the latest accounts it is said to have been his object to retreat to Cutch, at the same time that he is represented to have collected a few hundred men, in view to which circumstance the Resident at Baroda has been instructed to apply the very considerable force now at his requisition to the effectual reduction of all parties in arms against the Government of the Gaikwad and the interests of the Hon'ble Company in that province.

1803 *Bombay, 7th April, 1803 (1803/04, P. D. Let to C. of Div. 4)*
Bombay to the Company.

Malhar in Cutch With respect to Malharrao, whose flight from Nadiad is adverted to in the 33rd paragraph of our address of the 5th of February, it would seem by the concurrent reports that have reached us through the communications of our Resident at Baroda that that Chief actually proceeded to Cutch, according to the intention then said to be entertained by

him ; nor has he, since that period, committed any hostile act against the Gaikwad State ; a forbearance on his part, which in regard to the past we must however view as chiefly proceeding from the inadequacy of his possessions as a consequence of the last year's rebellion ; and after withdrawing himself from the liberal provision that had thereon been assigned to him under the guarantee of the British Government in Nadiad, he can [not] be reconciled to his present circumstances ; and it will therefore be necessary to observe a due degree of vigilance as to his future motion in that quarter.

Ternate off Mandvi, 11th May, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 148)

1803

David Seton, visiting Cutch, to Jonathan Duncan.

Malharrao was at first with the Mouree [*Morvi*], who would not retain him ; he then retired to Bhachau, a place near Anjar ; the Mouree [*Morvi*] having attacked Chircole, a place belonging to the Vagad, a tribe who border Cutch north of the Rann, and Fateh Muhammad entering into the quarrel, Malharrao went to Rapar, a fort of Vagad, subject to the Raja of Cutch and in charge of Morvi, whom I have often mentioned as one of Hansraji's friends. He was here on my arrival, and the said Malharrao was encamped under the fort and gave out he would return to Gujarat when Kanhoji did to Baroda. *Appeal to Malhar*

Malharrao's man arrived on the 9th with an answer to my letter and the one enclosed for Your Honour. He says he could not get the Persian letter read, though several people tried it, and therefore could not give a direct answer ; mine was in Gujarati, and I think he must also have understood the other, as Dondu Pandit, his agent, said on Malharrao's part that he would only return to Kadi or Bombay, not to remain at any intermediate place in Gujarat ; but did not say expressly he accepted of your offer, but was ready to do what was agreeable to you. It was unfortunate the season would not permit my longer stay to learn his decided intention. I again wrote him, enclosing a literal translation of Your Honour's letter in Gujarati, and desired his answer might be directed to Sunderji, and to determine whether he would be able to go in August, as he is too late for this season, and his going overland would not be agreeable. It appears to me he will either take advantage of Your Honour's permission to proceed through Gujarat by land to Surat, from whence he could easily join Kanhoji, or get into the Maratha country, having no prospect whatever in this.

As news, his agent says Malharrao had two thousand men with him : one half, Arabs ; the other, horse, most Jats, and a few Sindhis ; that he intended recrossing the Rann, and assisted by two thousand men of Morvi to make incursions on the Gaikwad's districts for his subsistence ; that this was publicly talked of amongst his followers ; and he had made one short march from Rapar as an outset ; but that his health was still very bad, as he had two open sores in the groins, that no medicine could stop. He further said that Your Honour was the only person on whom Malharrao had any dependence for support ; that he never had made war on the English, but against the Baroda people, with whom his quarrel was. On this I observed to the agent that he ought to consider Baroda and the English now as one, that I had also heard Your Honour to express much friendship for Malharrao *Malhar's plans*

and regret his being misled, but that this friendship would certainly be diminished if he attempted to disturb the Gaikwad districts or to go overland without leave.

I desired Sunderji to treat him well and to present him with a turban, etc., to the value of about one hundred Rupees as a mark of respect to his Master on my part, and if possible to detain him in Cutch, until he gave his decided answer and received Your Honour's commands on the subject. Should he intend to come to Bombay after the rains, and Your Honour wishes I should again return to Mandvi from Muscat in August, your orders to that effect could reach me overland at Muscat through Sunderji; and if Hansraji's terms are accepted, and assistance can be granted in the first [*part*] of the season, I could be able to bring over the money he promises and his agent.

No. 1. Jonathan Duncan's letter to Malharrao, dated 11th April, 1803.

Duncan's offer Although I was greatly surprised to find you had deserted the place of abode assigned to you in Nadiad, still as you probably acted from fears insidiously instilled into you by the designing, I yet offer you an asylum at Bombay in the Company's territories; which if you choose to avail yourself of, you may by repairing to Captain Seton, who will forward this and obtain a speedy passage hither with your family on one of the ships under his orders. What more can I say but once more leave the option of good or evil to your choice, wishing from the goodwill I still bear to you that you may adopt the best counsel?

No. 2. Letter from Malharrao to Jonathan Duncan, dated 4th May, received 14th May.

Malhar's grievance I have received your letter, which was written in Persian; but, as I have no munshi, the contents are as yet unknown to me. At the time when yours arrived, I received a letter also from Captain Seton written in the Gujarati characters, in which he mentioned, if I repaired to Bombay to Mr. Duncan, all would be well. Heretofore your letters were received on this subject at Kadi to the same purport, and that my welfare would be attended to; and I came out of Kadi on the reliance I placed in the words of the Colonel and the Major, and went to them in their camp, where a like conversation ensued; after which the Colonel, and the Major, and I came to you at Cambay. The Colonel departed for Surat; after which you did not enter into any discussion with me, but at the instance of Raoji Appaji you only told me it would be better for me to consent to what you proposed and to remain there for 6 months. I agreed to your proposals and remained at Nadiad 6 months. I wrote you two or three letters on the subject of my situation being rendered comfortable; in reply to which you immediately wrote to me, advising me to reduce my expenses and to support myself therewith; according to which I continued in my reliance on you to remain. At length Raoji must have said something to Major Walker; in consequence a guard of 500 sepoys with one paga of horse came to Mahi River; which made me depart from Nadiad.

From my reliance on you in all respects I came to you; but nothing has been done in consequence. Now Mr. Seton has written me to repair to Bombay; but how can I place confidence thereon? I leave this to your consideration. Be pleased to write to me in answer.

No. 3. Seton's explanation, dated 30th September, 1803.

I had the honour to receive your communication by way of Muscat, *Seton's excuses* regarding Malharrao, who says that I in my letter promised him, if he would proceed to Bombay, all would be well. In my instructions I was desired to give him no hopes of a provision in Gujarat, and [I was] verbally instructed to assure him he would be received with respect, and the Hon'ble Company would take care of him.

The enclosed, is the draught of the letter I dictated to the Gujarat writer; and having clearly ascertained there was a Persian munshi in the fort where Malharrao was encamped, I sent the Hon'ble Governor's letter without translating it. When my letter was read to me, I found nothing objectionable in it, although there would be a considerable alteration in regard to idiom, and as to the term 'all would be well' it implies nothing nor promises anything, and is a mere compliment, without [unless] some former transaction may have stamped a meaning on it I was ignorant of. I do not know that it was used by the writer I employed; but had he, it would have passed with everyone else as an expression of course. His answer to me I have not now by me, at least I cannot discriminate it amongst the other country-papers I have.

In this he sets out with a false assertion in saying he had no one to read the Persian letter; and his own agent, on being confronted with the commander of the fort where Malharrao was, acknowledged a mulla there had read the letter twice and explained it; but he said that Malharrao did not comprehend it.

No. 4. Draft of Seton's letter to Malharrao, dated Mandvi Roads, 27th April, 1803.

Having heard of your being in this country, he [Jonathan Duncan] *Letter* has given me the accompanying letter for you; with the contents of which, if you are disposed to comply, a vessel is ready to accompany you to Bombay, where you will be received with respect and be provided for by the Hon'ble Company. I hope, as the season is far advanced, to receive your answer soon, as I cannot remain here more than ten days. Sunderji will write you more particularly on my part.

Baroda, 10th July, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 146)

1803

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

Information of Bhagwan and Kanji, harkaras. The informants *Malhar at Gondal* say that Malharrao and Mukundrao, seven days ago, with 1,000 horses and 3,000 marching troops of the country were encamped opposite to Gondal on the northern bank of a river that runs by that town. That they had arrived there two days before, making two stages from Sera, on a report of Babaji's army moving from Patri to Dhemrul Gala; that the talk of the four in Gondal indicated their intention of coming to Damoli. The informants say they heard that Malharrao had lately plundered two poor villages in the Rajput Principality, called Ruavara and Sharoda.

Baroda, 21st July, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)

1803

Information about Malharrao and Mukundrao.

No. 1. Report of Dulab Ram, dated Baroda, 20th July, 1803.

He says that Malharrao and Mukundrao were encamped at Chirkadi *Malhar prepares* (five kos south of Gondal) when he left them eight days ago after passing

a day in their camp. That their forces amount to four or five thousand men, consisting of Pathans 300, Sindhis 300, 200 Purvis or men from the East, and 2 or 3,000 horse Marathas. That they had been plundering the Raja of Gondal, or at least made him pay Rs. 10,000 to be spared further violence. That it was reported their intentions were to go against Junagarh, and they seemed to be upon the move. It was also said that Hanmantrao was returning from the northward with ten thousand Sindhis to invade Gujarat after the rains.

The following circumstances were related by a kasid, an acquaintance of the informant, in the service of Mukundrao. Some time ago when the Morvi Raja was engaged against the killadar of Chital in the Vagad country, he called Hanmantrao to his assistance, and having obtained his object through his means gave him a cannon and a written promise that, when wanted, he would furnish him with (25,000) twenty-five thousand Kolis.

No. 2. Extract of a letter from Vithoba Pilaji, dated 9th July, 1803, to Major Walker.

Troops for Malhar I am informed that Hanmantrao, Malharrao's brother, is returned from Cutch with 300 of the Sindhi natives, who are in general very tall and strong men, wearing long caps on their heads. They joined Malharrao at Samadiala village, about 2 kos from Jetpur and 8 kos from Junagarh; also Hanmantrao has agreed for more troops from Sind, and some of them are daily arriving by two roads, one of which is across 15 kos of the Rann or salt ground by Tikar village of Howlode [*Halvad*] pargana, and the other by Nowahnum village of Morvi pargana; sometimes 30 men and sometimes more or less arrived by these ways and joined Malharrao.

1803 *Baroda, 30th July, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)*
Reports about Malharrao.

No. 1. Report of Ramsing and Bhagwan from Malharrao, dated Baroda, 29th July, 1803.

Dhari taken Malharrao with Mukundrao and Jiwoba Dada and Deoba Dada, his relations, are at Dhari with about five thousand followers, natives of Sind, the Deccan and diverse parts of India, including four hundred Arabs, who have just joined under Umer jamadar. Besides that force of his own, the Nawab, Tazil Khan, uncle of the Nawab of Junagarh, having quarrelled with his nephew, came to Malharrao with six hundred Jats and Kathis in his train, about ten days ago, and offered his services, which have been accepted.

The Matra-Kathi (a powerful chieftain in Kathiawar) about twelve days ago gave up the small fort of Dhari and one gun to Malharrao for his alliance and friendship. Malharrao's flag is flying upon that fort. His camp fronts towards Junagarh, and the world conjectures he will march thitherwards when he moves.

No. 2. Letter from Vithoba, dated Camp near Wadhwan, 27th July.

Dhari Malharrao has hoisted his colours on Dhari fort, belonging to Matra Nazani, and has stationed Mukundrao with a thousand people at that

place ; and he himself marched towards Amreli, one of the Gaikwad's thanas, and was also collecting money from different small villages, as Amreli, Alag, and from the pargana of Dhanani.

Baroda, 7th August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)

1803

Malharrao's position in Kathiawar.

See Section entitled *Kanhojirao*, Alexander Walker's reflections on *Malhar* the state of affairs in Gujarat. Marginal heading: *Danger from Malhar* entry of the 7th August, 1803.

Camp [Kathiawar] 9th August 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)

1803

Babaji to Major Walker.

About the forts in this quarter [*Kathiawar*] and *Malharrao* Gaikwad, *Confident* you need entertain no anxiety, as I will exert my understanding and actual means to serve the Sarkar.

Baroda, 24th August, 1803 (1803 P. D. 51)

1803

Alexander Walker to Major Wellesley.

Malharrao is at the head of nearly an equal number of forces as *Malhar* *Kanhoji*. *Babaji* is opposed to him with rather a less number of troops *and* but of better description ; and he possesses in his own opinion a decided *Babaji* superiority. These parties are separated from each other 40 kos.

Baroda, 24th August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)

1803

Report of Haribhai, harkara.

I left the camp of *Malharrao* on the 17th near *Dhrangadhra*, which *Malhar's* is 21 kos north west from *Limbdi*, where I passed through *Babaji's troops* camp on the 18th instant.

The followers of *Malharrao* consisted of four thousand *Kathiawar* horse and two thousand foot. He has four guns and four elephants. It was said they would soon go to some nagar or town situated at a distance of forty or sixty miles to the westward.

Camp, 26th August, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 154)

1803

Babaji Appaji to Jonathan Duncan.

I wished to have marched to *Baroda* [*after Raoji's death*] ; but, in *Malhar's* consequence of the remittances due to the troops and merchants from *troops* the *mukugiris* for these five years, they [*the troops*] remained to accomplish this. *Malharrao* Gaikwad and *Mukundrao* Gaikwad have jointly collected 4 or 5,000 men and continue to disturb the country of *Sorath*, which would have been plundered, and the enemy increased. I therefore remained to manage the *mukugiri* and likewise in endeavouring to punish *Malharrao*, who, fearing the English forces, has retreated 50 kos, but this is of no consequence ; for, if I have support enough from Your Honour, our enemies will be punished.

Baroda, 30th August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)

1803

Information from Viithoba, dated 26th August.

To-day *Babaji's* kasids returned from *Malharrao's* camp and they *Malhar's* informed him that *Malharrao* had marched to *Una-Delvada* and on his *advance* way plundered the village of *Vasavadar*, which formerly belonged to the

Junagarh Nawab; but he presented it to Babi Mukhtiar Khan in inam. From thence Malharrao proceeded to Salwad, near Mojowdi, about 4 kos from Junagarh. On this movement the Junagarh Nawab directed the Dorias (who are the Mussulman cavalry of this country carrying match-locks) to quit Malharrao, if not, they should be punished, upon which all the Dorias left Malharrao to the number of about 1,500, and some other people also went away for want of pay. It appears that Malharrao is distressed for money, and that his sibandi will desert him.

anordas Babaji received a letter from Manordas, the Gaikwad thanadar at Amreli, mentioning that he had gone with a party of horse and 300 foot to expel Mukundrao's people from Damnagar thana, which was evacuated on their approach. Manordas accordingly took charge of the thana on the 24th instant.

1803 *Camp near Bhadla, 9th September, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)*

Vithoba Pilaji to Jonathan Duncan.

Mukund and Malhar The intelligence from Malharrao's camp is that Mukundrao had some dispute with Malharrao near Mangrol, and fled from thence with a handful of men, and passed by the way of Dhrol pargana. On his way the people, who accompanied him demanded their pay; but, as he had no money, they plundered him, and took everything from him, and left his service. Mukundrao halted a night at Thoma village, and next morning proceeded further; but where he is now, is not exactly known.

1803 *Bombay, 5th October, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)*

James Grant to John Lumsden.

Mukund and Malhar It appears that Malharrao and Mukundrao, lately leagued on that frontier [*Kathiawar*], had some difference, and that the latter fled; a report which derives some degree of credit from the information in the paper accompanying Major Walker's letter, whence it appears that Mukundrao, accompanied by three horsemen and a few men on foot, had gone to Kanhoji.

1803 *Camp near Machiala, 11th October, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)*

Vithoba Pilaji to Alexander Walker.

Attack This morning Babaji dispatched a detachment of about 1,000 horse and 1,400 foot under the command of Vithoba Diwanji to surround Dhari fort, in which Malharrao had for some time resided, and where he was at present. To-morrow morning we shall march to that place; and if God gives us victory, we shall either, I hope, seize Malharrao's person or plunder him.

1803 *Camp near Ghokarvala in Amreli pargana, 12th October, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)*

Vithoba Pilaji to Alexander Walker.

Escape I am sorry to inform Your Honour that Malharrao effected his escape from Dhari fort on Monday night, and took his road towards Diu or Jafarabad. Babaji dispatched a detachment on the Tuesday morning to obtain intelligence of him, and left the road of Dhari and proceeded after Malharrao; and this morning Vithoba Diwanji set out

from Savar Kundla village, one of the Bhavnagar Raja's thanas, with 100 horse and a Raja's jamadar in their company. The jamadar promised that he would endeavour to effect a meeting with Malharrao, who has only at present four hundred horse of Arabs, 2 elephants and two guns ; and Babaji marched from his last ground to this place on purpose to join the detachment.

Thursday : This morning at sunrise Babaji made a long march *Defeat* and arrived in the hilly country, and encamped near Hutrulni village. On our way Babaji received the Diwanji's letter, mentioning that they met Malharrao about 12 kos from Savar Kundla in Baberwada pargana, and had an engagement with his people, who ran away ; but the Diwanji and the Pindari horse plundered Malharrao's baggage, and brought 36 cattle and 17 camels, all that Malharrao had, and returned into the camp.

Amreli [?], 13th October, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)

1803

Babaji Appaji to Sitaram Raoji.

I came to Amreli from the district of Gondal, and detached thence *Defeat* Jagoba and Vithoba with twelve hundred horse to Dhari in the neighbourhood of Poolbandar, where Malharrao was under the protection of its Mewas. On hearing of this detachment coming against him, Malharrao quitted Dhari, and went to Baberwada pargana on the 11th October, whither Jagoba directed his march immediately that intelligence reached him of Malharrao's flight.

The horse passed that night at Savar Kundla a village of Bhavnagar, 16 kos off. Having learnt that Malharrao was five kos from them, they moved at sunrise on the 12th October, but pushed on 16 or 17 kos before they reached the rear of Malhar's party. Malharrao's infantry stood. Our horse charged and killed about fifty of them and wounded two hundred. About twenty of our horsemen were killed and wounded. Our horsemen plundered all the provisions.

About fifty men fled with Malhar amongst the hills. More of his men ran off by different roads and were robbed by the Mewasis.

Gogha, 18th October, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)

1803

Letter from the Agent at Gogha.

In a letter from the agent at Gogha, dated 18th October, 1803, it *Plans* is written that, after Malharrao's defeat by Babaji, his beaten followers encamped within four kos of Gogha, and Malhar went with a few horse to Bhavnagar, begging the Raja to take him into the town ; but the Raja refused him refuge. The writer requests that troops may be sent to defend the place against Malharrao's people, who will likely look into Gogha.

Bhavnagar, 24th October, 1803 (1803, S. and P. D. 149)

Letter from Himatram Pranjivan of Bhavnagar.

This serves to acquaint you that on the night of the Divali Rajishri *Flight* Malharrao with two elephants and two hundred horse came and halted on the banks of the river, and the following day was joined by his army, consisting of about three thousand horse and foot and one gun, where he remained about five days ; but finding that the Gaikwad force was

coming after him, he fled in the night, leaving behind him his elephants, horses and gun, all of which was this day taken by the Gaikwad's force, which, it is said, will move to-day.

1803 *Baroda, 26th October, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)*

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

covery I have already had the honour to inform the Hon'ble the Governor that Babaji made a successful attack on Malharrao on the 11th instant, who fled after losing part of his baggage, and entered one of the piratical States near Jafarabad.

Babaji appears to have considered his advantage greater than it was, and imprudently neglected any kind of pursuit. The restless mind of Malharrao seems to have found new resources, and about the 15th instant he suddenly arrived at Bhavnagar with a force variously reported to be from 3,000 to 5,000 men. The smallest of these numbers I suppose to be considerably above the truth.

I received the first intelligence of this movement of Malharrao from Dholera, and it has since been confirmed from Gogha, Dhandhuka and Dholka.

asures The means of the local agents to repel this danger are entirely inadequate, and in the present situation of affairs [*no*] military aid is to be expected. I have therefore authorised Lieutenant Robertson to increase the sibandi to such an extent as may be practicable, or he on the spot may judge necessary, and to collect all these forces for the general defence of the districts.

On the first report of Malhar's appearance at Bhavnagar, Lieut. Robertson with a laudable zeal, although with inadequate forces, went to the relief of Dholera, which was supposed to be first threatened, carrying with him all the sibandi he could immediately collect at Dholka, about 50 of the Gaikwad cavalry stationed in that district and 40 kasbati horse.

etters to
Chiefs I have enclosed copies of letters which I have addressed on this occasion to the Rajas of Limbdi and Bhavnagar. These two Chiefs are at present at variance, and have already by their disputes very much prejudiced the Company's affairs. I have in particular had great reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of the Bhavnagar Raja, who, on a very frivolous pretence, which the Agent at Gogha only lately reported to me, declined for a long time to deliver over the customs included in that part of His Highness's the Peshwa's cessions, and of which each party collects a moiety. It appears also that the behaviour of this Raja has been unfriendly since our acquisition of Dholera and of territories in the neighbourhood of his own.

asures I beg leave to suggest that many good consequences would attend the stationing of a cruiser off Bhavnagar or occasionally between that port, Gogha and Dholera.

Although Babaji will most probably of his own accord detach at least a part of his forces in pursuit of Malharrao, he has been strongly urged to this by the sarkar, and even to follow himself with the whole of his army. I have likewise pressed Babaji to pursue the most rigorous measures; but it is to be apprehended, if Malharrao avails himself of

his present opportunity, that their exertions will be too late to prevent him joining Kanhoji, should that be this intention.

No. 1. Letter from Major Walker to Harising, Raja of Limbdi, dated Baroda, 26th October.

I learn that you are engaged in an unprofitable contest with the Bhavnagarkar. You both molest the merchants travelling through your districts and trading to our stations of Dhandhuka, etc. In consequence I give you notice that you will be called upon to pay the deficiency thence occasioned in the receipt of the customs. I also warn you not to harbour Malharrao or permit them to pass through your territories into the Company's or Gaikwad Raja's districts. If you do, you will be called to account for it. Warning

No. 2. Letter from Major Walker to the Raja of Bhavnagar, dated Baroda, 25th October 1803.

I have received your letter of the 19th October, and have frequently heard of your disposition to protract the performance of what is proper and due on your part to the Company as therein fully displayed. I have before advised you of the appointment of Sapatrao to manage the Company's affairs at Gogha and other cessions made along with that port by His Highness the Peshwa, and desired that you would aid him in his duties. I understand your officers counteract him. I warn you against such a conduct, which the English Government will not long suffer with impunity, and refer you to my friendly letter of the 6th July, that you may hereafter plead no excuse. Warning

I have just heard with astonishment that you have admitted Malharrao into Bhavnagar. He is a rebel to the sarkar of the Gaikwad Raja, with whom the English are in alliance. It would therefore better become you to fight Malharrao than to afford him an asylum. On your acting according to the advices detailed in this and my former letter depends the friendship of my Government.

Baroda, 29th October, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)
Alexander Walker to James Grant.

1803

Since my address of 26th instant I have the satisfaction to inform you that from the vigilance of Babaji Malharrao has been obliged to retire from the pargana of Dhandhuka, without committing, I believe, any depredations. Retreat

On hearing of the route that Malharrao had taken, Babaji sent after him about 2,000 troops and a number of Kathis; which compelled him to quit that part of the country as suddenly as he had entered it. By the most probable accounts Malharrao has again fled into the piratical States; but this is uncertain. He has with him one gun and an elephant; but his attendants by the most exaggerated account do not exceed 1,000 men. It is reported that the Kathis have taken one gun and some horses from him.

Baroda, 6th November, 1803 (1803 S. & P. D. 150)
Alexander Walker to Jonathan Duncan.

1803

I have the honour to inform you that Malharrao and his only son are now prisoners in Babaji's camp. The enclosures, as numbered in Capture

the margin, will make you acquainted with the means by which this event has been accomplished, and the particulars that have attended it.

*Malhar's
residence*

It would be desirable to remove these prisoners from Gujarat, and perhaps Bombay is on every account the most eligible place for their confinement. Although Babaji has in some measure referred this question to me, he has given his own opinion that they should be confined in Ahmadabad. I have easily convinced the Baroda Administration that the size of the city, the deficiency of its garrison, its vicinity to the former dominions of Malharrao and the connection of many of its inhabitants with that personage are circumstances which separately or together would in no long time contribute to his escape.

In return therefore to the reference from Babaji I have advised the Diwan to desire that the prisoners may be sent to this place, where their persons will be secure. This arrangement will put them more at my disposal and enable me, Hon'ble Sir, to receive your instructions. In the meantime I shall take care that Malharrao is treated with as much humanity and attention as the situation will admit.

The present idea of this Government is to confine Malharrao in the fort of Sankheda or Ranpur. If you should deem it preferable to remove him to Bombay, the great obstacle I apprehend to this measure will be to obtain a suitable allowance for his maintenance. On this head the Administration will be more indifferent if they discover any anxiety in us to transfer the prisoners to Bombay, and they may be willing to deliver their persons into our charge to save the expense of supporting them. They may also, if we press the measure, think that we have some separate interests to answer, and that they are too precious pledges to be entrusted to us.

Should you therefore, Hon'ble Sir, be led either by policy or humanity to wish that the person of Malharrao and his family be placed in charge of the Company's Government, I would not advise any direct proposition to be made for this purpose, but that it should be effected by availing ourselves of opportunities and of causes which are likely to make the Gaikwad Government itself seek this arrangement.

No. 1. Letter from Vithoba Pilaji to Major Walker, dated Dhari fort, 30th October

Captive

I am very happy to inform Your Honour that this day at 4 p.m. Diwanji Vithoba Bhao arrived in camp, and brought with him Malharrao and his son, Khanderao, prisoners. Babaji ordered a rowti to be pitched near his cutcherry tent, and put them there, and kept two of his sepoy to guard them; the Rani Kathi has been very serviceable on this business.

No. 2. Report of Malharrao's capture.

Capture

I left Dhari in the morning of the 31st October with this letter. Malharrao Gaikwad and his son, Khanderao, were brought in prisoners the evening before to Babaji's camp.

The measures lately taken and pursued against Malharrao, as minutely as I am acquainted with them, were as follows :

After part of his followers was defeated, and baggage plundered by a detachment of Babaji's horse at Savar Kundla about three weeks

ago, Malharrao fled to Bhavnagar, where he solicited shelter from the Raja in vain, but succeeded in getting a boat from thence in which he intended to make his escape to Dwarka and Bhuj. Two English boats however hove in sight, before he had proceeded far in his voyage and, it is said, fired two shots; whereon he again sought the shore and relanded at Bhavnagar, and the Raja continuing to refuse him an asylum (apprehensive of the consequences) Malharrao and his son, abandoning a gun, and two elephants, and eight horses (according to all accounts) upon the skirts of Bhavnagar, betook themselves to flight, nor halted till they reached the hill of Palitana or Sitranja. There they stayed with a single attendant several days, and were almost starved, when some inhabitants of the adjacent country discovered their retreat and disclosed it to Babaji, who detached a party of a hundred horse to bring them in. On that party meeting Malharrao, and his son, and his servant, the three fugitives, having no hope and being famished almost to death, made no resistance. The father and son [*were led*] into the neighbourhood of the camp, where Babaji had laid palanquins to receive them.

No. 3. Letter from Babaji to Sitaram Raoji, dated Dhari fort, 30th October.

Until this day I have been engaged in endeavouring to get *Capture* Malharrao into my power and have at last succeeded. After twice beating him, and taking his baggage, and he had fled to Bhavnagar, he was forced by the Raja to quit that place. He went with his son to the neighbourhood of Palitana, leaving two elephants, a gun and nagara and nishan (ensigns of state) at Bhavnagar. These we carried off and followed Malharrao to Palitana. There we learnt that he had thrown down his palanquin, and that the Kathi of Matra had put the father and son on horseback and gone away with them. We brought on the palanquin and came to Piplad, where inquiry being made through the Kathi Rani after the fugitives, a Kathi came and told my young friend, Vithoba, that the Matra Kathi had carried the father and son to the Palitana mountains, placed them there in the woods, and left them, after robbing them of whatsoever they had about them; that the son was sick, and the father could not ride. Their palanquins and other comforts were scattered in, and left at, different places; that they had been eight days without food and had but one piece of raiment to cover their bodies. After receiving this intelligence the Kathi was rewarded with a gold bangle; and the Kathi Rani with our Nazar paga on Friday the 28th October, attended by a guide, went to the wood of which Malharrao and his son were inhabitants and to the spot where they two lay sequestered and attended only by three Gujaratis. On their approach one man drew his sword; him they fixed to the spot and killed, and carried Malharrao and his son that same afternoon to their quarters or camp at Piplad, writing to me of the event a letter, which reached me last night, and of which you will be informed before this comes to hand, as I dispatched a letter to Bapu Mairal early this morning, shortly noticing it.

As they had no conveyances, I sent two palanquins for them, and they arrived at the army, escorted by Vithoba, this day at three o'clock.

Sorry was I indeed, while I feared he had slipt through our fingers, for whom we had left off and lost the best part of month's mulukgiri. But our good fortunes, when not expected, gave them both into our hands, and made me as glad as I was before grieved. But now it is necessary to determine where they are to be put. It would be very wrong to carry them about with our active army. You must therefore upon the receipt of this letter consult with Major Walker and the whole mutasaddis where to put them, and inform me, that they may be immediately sent to the place of their destination. To me no place appears proper to put them in, except shahar or city (meaning Ahmadabad), because nowhere else can they be so well guarded against. However let the decision on this point come from that quarter, after deliberately viewing it in every situation, and with as little delay as possible, that I may fulfil your wishes.

I will write hereafter. In a day or two I move to Junagarh. Be not uneasy about me. Baba Saheb, we have got hold of one enemy, and Kanoji will also soon be hold of. Write me soon whither I am to send this captive enemy, and I will send him thither. We have only got possession of two elephants, one gun, a nagara and nishan, and palanquin. Their horses and other property the Kathis have carried away in part, and their frightened troopers scampered off with the rest by various routes, the first roads, I dare say, that they saw.

1803 *Morvi, 11th Ramzan, 1803 (1804, P. D. B. M. 63A)*

Moulvi Muhammad Ali to Alexander Walker.

Hanmant Hanmantrao, a brother of Malharrao, came with 12 horsemen to Morvi from Raipur, where Malharrao's family resides in Cutch, 28 kos distant from this [place]; and told me that, if the Hon'ble Company's Government would give him a maintenance, he would be glad to come and live at Baroda, or Ahmadabad, or anywhere else under their protection; but not knowing your sentiments in this subject, I gave him no assurances.

1804 *Mandvibandar, 17th May, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 158)*

Sunderji to Jonathan Duncan, letter received in Bombay on the 22nd June.

Hanmant Hanmantrao, the brother of Malharrao, came to pay visit to Captain Seton shortly after he left this; and as he was disappointed in seeing the Captain, he gave me the enclosed letter, and requested me to obtain for him an answer. I have therefore to request Your Honour will send him such a reply as you may deem proper, by which also I shall consider myself highly honoured.

Arzi from Hanmantrao.

Request In this varied and uncertain stage of mortality, in these untoward and inauspicious times what address would contain a detail of my misfortunes? I was in hopes that, if I proceeded to Mandvibandar, I could have obtained through Captain Seton an audience with Your Honour, and got settled with the sarkar my private affairs; but, before I could reach that place, Captain Seton had departed for Bombay, and I was disappointed in effecting my wishes. I kept them to myself and remained irresolute what to do, till at length I heard that Sunderji

Sevji, a merchant and a man employed in the service of the Hon'ble Company Bahadur, resided at Mandvibandar. I cultivated with him the warmest friendship and communicated to him every circumstance and particular of my history. He told me in reply to draw out a statement of my case and give it to him, that he might forward it to the presence and obtain for me a favourable reply. I have therefore to request Your Honour will send an order through Sunderji for me to repair to your presence and allow me to have the opportunity of throwing myself at your feet.

Remark in the Diary.

Ordered that a copy of the above letter and of the letter from *Pleading* Hanmantrao, referred to in it, be sent to the Resident at Baroda, desiring him to intercede with the Gaikwad Government to procure a suitable maintenance to Hanmantrao; who, being from his birth of no political consequence, can never disturb the public quiet, whilst the submission he has been all his life in the habit of yielding to his senior, Malhar, may equitably operate in extenuation of the state of opposition, he has thus in a great degree unavoidably been in for some years past, to the State of Anandrao and to the British Government as the latter's ally.

Major Walker may communicate on this subject with Hanmantrao and Sunderji Sevji at Mandvi.

Baroda, 25th May, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 157)

1804

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

I have the honour to inform you that the Gaikwad Government *To Bombay* has consented to transfer the charge of Malharrao's person and of that of his son to the care of the Hon'ble Company. The Diwan very readily agreed to this measure, and that the prisoners should be removed to Bombay, where they will receive a pension of 15,000 Rupees per annum.

As the Administration entertained considerable apprehension from the artful and intriguing disposition of Malharrao, thinking that he might effect his escape, or by some other means attempt to recover his former possession, I have assured them on the first head that the vigilance of the English Government allowed them nothing to fear, and on the second that Kadi with its dependencies was virtually secured to the family of Anandrao by the success of the Company's arms, and considered as a part of their future inheritance.

I also found it necessary to say on this occasion, in which, I hope, I shall be found correct, that Malharrao by flying from Nadiad and engaging in a second rebellion, had forfeited every claim on the Gaikwad Government; and that his present release and the allowance, which might be given to him, were to be viewed as voluntary acts of generosity without being imposed by any obligation whatever.

I represented at the same time to Sitaram, that these measures were calculated to secure the tranquillity of Gujarat, and displayed a liberality as well as a well-placed confidence in the British Government, which must advance his reputation and interests.

Malharrao with his son, Khanderao, proceed this evening for Broach, from whence or from Surat it is intended that they shall embark immediately for Bombay; and I have the honour to enclose a copy of my instructions to Mr. Steadman, respecting them.

As Malharrao arrived here in a most forlorn condition, without attendants or clothes, I found it necessary to supply him with such articles as conveniency and decency required.

Alexander Walker's instructions to William Steadman at Broach, dated Baroda, 24th May, 1804.

Treatment I have to apprise you that Malharrao Gaikwad and his son will proceed from hence to-day for Broach under an escort of the Company's and the Gaikwad's troops.

You will be pleased to receive these prisoners and to accommodate them, as far as circumstances will admit, suitably to their rank and the humanity which is due to their situation. It is intended to embark them immediately to Bombay, and you will request the Boat-master to be so good as to give you his assistance in respect to the equipment of a vessel fit for the purpose.

It will be necessary also that you should apply to Major Cuyler for an European officer and a guard to embark with Malharrao. Should there be no proper vessel at Broach, you will await a communication, which I have requested Mr. Crow to make to you from Surat, and act accordingly.

In case it should be necessary to send Malharrao to Surat to proceed on a vessel from thence, you must likewise apply to Major Cuyler for an escort to accompany him and his son to that port; but I trust that this measure will not be required, and that a fit vessel will be found at Broach.

You will likewise be pleased to provide Malharrao with such articles of comfort and provisions as he may require for the voyage, consulting as much as possible his ease and convenience.

1804 *Baroda, 2nd June, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 158)*

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

To Bombay I have the honour to enclose the copy of a letter from Mr. Steadman and of my instructions in consequence.

As it appears more than probable that the lateness of the season will render it necessary to send Malharrao and his son by land, I beg leave to refer it to the consideration of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council whether a passport may be necessary from His Highness the Peshwa and, in the case there will be time, to forward it to the officer in command of the escort, before he can advance so far as Bassein. The officer will not leave Broach until it is fully determined that the passage is impracticable by sea, which may be about the 7th instant.

No. 1. Letter from William Steadman at Broach to Alexander Walker.

By sea I am induced to intrude on you a moment by making known to you the difficulties there will be attending the departure by sea of Malharrao.

The sarang of the boat, sent here by Mr. Crow, states that he has little chance of making the passage, as the southerly winds are in his judgment strongly set on. He met with very violent weather to this place.

No. 2. Letter from Alexander Walker to William Steadman at Broach.

I have in acknowledgment of your letter to express my regret that *Escort* so many obstacles should appear to prevent Malharrao proceeding by sea to Bombay ; and should this measure continue impracticable, it will be necessary to direct our endeavours to send him by land.

The first mode would be infinitely preferable. But, should the season operate against it, you will then be pleased to dispatch Malharrao and his son by land under charge of the officer and guard appointed to accompany them by sea with the addition of a party of horse and foot sibandi. You will be pleased to apply to the Judge and Collector of Surat, when the measure of sending Malharrao by land is definitely determined, for such a party of sibandi and peons as they may judge necessary for the more complete security of the prisoners on the road.

It is necessary for the auxiliaries, including your own sibandi, to proceed as far as Thana from whence they should be instructed to return.

It will be necessary for the officer to report his arrival at Thana to the Hon'ble the Governor and give as frequent notice of his progress as may be in his power. In passing through the Peshwa's territories he ought to be particularly vigilant and cautious, and to prevent the prisoners receiving visits, or having any intercourse with strangers.

You will provide for their necessary expenses on the road, but with a due attention to economy. Whether Malharrao proceeds by sea or land, his son must accompany him ; and no pledge whatever can be accepted for the good faith of the former.

Broach, 4th June, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 158)

1804

William Steadman to Henry Shank, Private Secretary to the Governor.

May I request you will inform the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council *Starting* of Malharrao and his son's departure hence for the Presidency by land in charge of Lieutenant Willis with a strong guard.

Remark in the Diary.

The Secretary on the 11th instant wrote by express to the Resident *Passport* at Poona, requesting him to procure a passport for Lieutenant Willis and his party proceeding overland from Broach, in charge of Malharrao and his son, to Bombay.

General Wellesley was also advised and furnished with copies of this correspondence, and requested to be so good as to forward the timely procuring of the passport, should he think it necessary.

Mr. Bouchier was, on the same occasion, desired to write to the Naib Subahdar of Bassein to the effect of Lieutenant Willis's being allowed a free and secure passage with his prisoners through the district subject to his authority.

Bombay measures.

The Town-Major was on the 3rd instant directed to receive *Care* Malharrao and his son in charge from the Commander of the vessel, in which they might arrive, and to convey them in safe custody to the fort of Sewri, which has been prepared for their reception, and where they are to continue as prisoners till further orders, being in the meantime

treated with as much indulgence and attention as the security of their persons will admit of. In allowing them to visit Bombay or other parts of the island occasionally, the Town-Major has been directed to be guided by the instructions he may receive from the Governor.

In the event of Malharrao or his son requiring medical aid, it was ordered to be the duty of Doctor Keir (who was accordingly advised) to afford it, on notice from the Town-Major, who would make a daily report of the state of his prisoners to the Governor.

1804 *Poona, 15th June, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 158)*

Passport from His Highness Bajirao Raghunath, Peshwa, dated 14th June, 1804.

Passport To the collectors, chaukidars, patels, as well as the mukaddams of all the towns and villages, and persons superintending the different ferry-boats, be it known that Rajashri Malharrao Gaikwad and his son are now proceeding from Gujarat to Bombay by the route of Bassein with a detachment commanded by one officer, whom with all their baggage, provisions and clothes you are to permit to pass without the smallest detention; you are also to place guards and sentries at the places where the party may halt, and cause them to be safely ferried over the different rivers and nullahs throughout your jurisdiction.

1804 *Danu, 15th June, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 158)*

Lieutenant Willis to James Grant.

At Danu I have the honour to acquaint of my arrival with Malharrao and his son at this place.

1804 *Bombay, 7th July, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 158)*

Lieutenant Willis's account of money spent on account of Malharrao's journey from Ahmadabad to Bombay.

<i>Money</i>	Money advanced for subsistence during the journey ..	Rs. 143
	Hackeries' hire	156
	Money for boats	19
	Money for palanquins	28
	Money for coolies	13
		<hr/>
		Rs. 359
	Cash received at Broach	Rs. 100
	Cash received at Surat	150
	Cash received at Thana	100
	By balance	9
		<hr/>
		Rs. 359

1804 *Baroda, 16th July, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M. 63E)*

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

Hanmant Soon after the receipt of your letter of the 29th ultimo, *I communicated to the Diwan the views of Hanmantrao Gaikwad and requested

*This letter is not recorded in the Diary, but its contents may be inferred from the Remark in the Diary after Sunderji's letter to Jonathan Duncan, dated 17-5-1804.

to know his sentiments respecting that person, recommending at the same time that a suitable provision might be made to him, provided he would live peaceably in a private station. In this recommendation Sitaram acquiesced; but it will be liable to discussion whether the Government is to be burthened with a separate provision for Hanmantrao or whether he will be maintained from the allowance granted to Malharrao, which was made more liberal in reference to the expected submission of his brothers.

I have accordingly written to Sunderji and to Hanmantrao, inviting this person to come to Baroda on the Company's guarantee and on the assurance of a provision, under the condition before mentioned. I have also sent a kowlarna and a peon to Hanmantrao to escort him to this place, which will be a sufficient protection to him on the road.

It may be necessary to apprise the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council on this occasion that Hanmantrao had some time ago made to the Diwan and me an indirect application to submit to the Government, but he requested to be received into the service, and to be appointed to the command of a paga; which was not acquiesced in, as the measure would involve a very considerable expense, and was on other evident grounds objectionable.

Baroda, 26th July, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 159)

1804

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

I have the honour to enclose a letter of credit from the House of *Pension* Hari Bhakti, directing his gumashta at Bombay to pay such an allowance to Malharrao monthly as the Hon'ble the Governor may be pleased to order. I have settled with this House that Malharrao's receipts shall be transmitted to Baroda and discharged by the Gaikwad Government on the attestation of the Hon'ble the Governor's signature. As interest must be paid for these advances, it will be necessary to reserve a balance of the pension for that purpose. If the interest is charged at the rate of Gujarat it will amount to about 1,300 Rupees a year.

Calcutta, 2nd August, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 160)

1804

N. B. Edmonstone, to James Grant.

His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General-in-Council *Treatment* having received from the Resident at Baroda information of an arrangement having been concluded with the Government of Gaikwad for placing the persons of Malharrao of his son Khanderao at the future disposal of the British Government, which has been communicated by the Resident to the Hon'ble Governor-in-Council of Bombay, I am now directed by His Excellency to request that you will signify to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council His Excellency's approbation of that arrangement.

The Governor-General-in-Council directs however to request that you will inform the Governor-in-Council that it does not appear to His Excellency to be necessary or expedient to place those persons in a state of close confinement, and His Excellency accordingly desires that no greater degree of restraint may be imposed on Malharrao and his son than may appear to the Governor-in-Council to be necessary for the security of their persons.

*Remark in the Diary.**Kindness*

In acknowledgment of the above letter, the Secretary is to advise Mr. Secretary Edmonstone that for a short time after the arrival of Malharrao and his son at Bombay, which happened on the 27th of June last, they were kept in confinement in the fort of Sewri, but were removed on the 26th of July into the Town-Major's Quarters within the garrison, which they since inhabit a distinct part of, with leave to go about the town as they please in the day-time, duly attended, and with as much general liberty as appears consistent with the security of their persons, more especially whilst hostilities are carrying on in Malwa, whence the public enemy would no doubt be desirous of affording them every encouragement to resort to inimical measures against the Gaikwad and British Governments in Gujarat. But the Governor-in-Council is entirely disposed to treat Malharrao and his son with every degree of lenity of which their circumstances may be at present, or may hereafter prove susceptible, a disposition which the present instructions will not fail to corroborate and strengthen.

Bombay, 17th August, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 159)

William Green, the Town-Major, to James Grant.

*Expenses incurred by Malharrao :**Expenses*

- | | |
|--|-------------|
| 1. Expenses in fitting up Sewri fort, etc., furniture,
dated 1st July, for June | Rs. 705 3 0 |
| 2. Expenses for provisions, etc., servants'
wages, etc., dated 1st July, for June .. | Rs. 651 2 0 |
| 3. Expenses for provisions and servants'
wages, etc., dated 1st August, for July .. | Rs. 977 0 0 |

Remark in the Diary.

Ordered that a copy of the above letter be sent to Major Walker with the information that the gumashta of Hari Bhakti has been ordered on behalf of the Gaikwad Government to pay the amount into the Civil Pay Office, and will be so [ordered] (on similar vouchers) [to pay] the sum of each month's future expense, which will be vouched by the Town-Major and the countersignature of the Governor, and kept on the whole as nearly as possible within the amount allotted for the support of the prisoners in question.

1804 Baroda, 1st September, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M. 63B)

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

Pension

I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 21st ultimo on the subject of payments to Malharrao, and shall prepare the Gaikwad Government to discharge the advances made by Hari Bhakti, on producing the vouchers which sanction the expenditure.

1804 Baroda, 20th September, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M. 63 B)

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

Malhar's pension

I beg you will respectfully express to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council my apprehension lest the expenses of Malharrao may be allowed to exceed the sum allotted by this Government for his support. Twelve thousand Rupees were first thought sufficient for that purpose, but to

cover every expense and to defray the interest that might arise on the advances made by the House of Hari Bhakti at Bombay, the allowance was raised to 15,000 Rupees. I adverted to this circumstance in my letter of the 26th July, and stated the annual interest at 1,300 Rupees, which would leave a neat pension of 13,700 Rupees.

As the Gaikwad Administration understood, when they transferred the persons of Malharrao and his son to the care of the Company, and thereby afforded a very strong proof of their increased confidence in the English Government, that they were not to be charged with any further expense than the sum of Rupees 15,000, I hope that the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will have the goodness to direct the strictest attention to a circumstance, for which I have virtually passed my word.

Baroda, 29th September, 1804 (1804, P. D.)
Information about Malharrao's family.

1804

No. 1. Letter from Hanmantrao Gaikwad to Major Walker, dated Morvi, 15th September, 1804.

Your favourable communication I received by the sepoy and, on *Malhar's* perusal and the consequent knowledge of its contents, derived considerable *family* satisfaction. You write me, Sir, to visit Baroda, a circumstance, I assure you, I much wish for, as I should there have an opportunity of meeting you. This however, Sir, I must at present from necessity decline, although in this country I see little probability of attaining any settlement of my affairs.

Malharrao Gaikwad Himmat Bahadur at present in Bombay with the Governor is well taken care of and well treated, a continuance of which will of course add to your credit, forgiving also his past errors. A promotion of this, Sir, by you will also add to that name already high in the country. As for myself, Sir, while in your remembrance I am near. What more can I say ?

No. 2. The deposition of Said Hukmat Hilal, sepoy in the employ of Major Walker, dispatched with a letter to Hanmantrao, the brother of Malharrao Gaikwad.

I quitted Baroda in conformity to my instructions from my Master with this letter in question, and proceeded through Dholka, Limbdi, Gengeri ; and from thence took boat to Cutch. At the bandar I found Sunderji, to whom I delivered my packet. This person instructed me to deliver the latter to Hanmantrao and, should he wish to go to Baroda, to take him with me ; but, should he not, to return with such an answer as he might give. On quitting Sunderji he cautioned me to visit Ranpur or Shahpur, which the person in question constantly frequented, and where was residing the Kathiawari wife of Malharrao with his children, Jesingrao, a boy of 8 or 10 years of age, and a daughter grown up. Here I remained one day, and received from Hanmantrao's karbari a letter, to his Master, with which this person desired me to proceed to Morvi, where it was probable I should find him ; but if not there, at the fort of Dhrangadhra. I set out accordingly to Morvi, where I found him with Nuthubhoy, a near relative of the Morvi Raja. It appears that he stays here a month or two together as a particular friend.

At this place I presented him with my charge, which he seemed to receive with much pleasure. I remained with him two days, when on the 2nd he called me, and gave me his answer ; and on desiring me to make his best salam to the Major, from whom, he said, he was not distant, desired me to return.

At Ranpur they have 3 elephants and 6 camels, which are the property of Malharrao, but remain there with his wife. On my return at the village of Kooah I found Hanmantrao had there 25 horses and several bullocks at grass. At Dhrangadhra is Jitabsarra, Malharrao's late diwan, and Devrao, his brother (Malharrao's). I had no meeting with their people, but passed through the place unnoticed.

No. 3 FATESING'S RETURN

THE documents recorded under this heading are divided into three sections :

Section A : Effecting the return

Section B : Baroda conspiracy

Section C : The ransom episode

Section D : Treaties with Chieftains

Section A : EFFECTING THE RETURN

Fatesing's return was the result of prolonged negotiations with Jamal Khan and Zenghis Khan, who professed to be the accredited agents of Shah Ahmed Khan, though they were not fully trusted by the latter. The negotiations were mainly concerned with fixing the ransom and settling the mode of payment ; for neither party trusted the other out of their sight. One of the chief difficulties of the Baroda Government was to get rid of the Pathans, who had escorted Fatesingrao to his ancestral home, and who were quite ready and even anxious to settle in Baroda, if not for ever, at least as long as it would do their advantage.

DOCUMENTS

Aganta Ghat, 19th July, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)

1803

Yadav Bhaskar to Raoji Appaji.

On the meeting of Holkar and Sindia, which is agreed on and *Promise* expected soon, he [*Yadav Bhaskar*] will endeavour to obtain the release of Fatesingrao and his mother.

Songarh, 4th August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)

1803

Bhagwanbhai to Sitaram Raoji.

Fatesingrao and his mother are come to Nandurbar from the camp *Ransom* of Shah Ahmed Khan ; they have thence sent to me their jasus, Malhari, who is arrived and says (Rupees 50,000) fifty thousand Rupees must be paid to the Pathan, otherwise there are 1,000 people of the Pathan with the Bai (mother), either in service or without wages, who will all come here and commit depredations. Such is the report of their jasus.

If therefore 50,000 Rupees be by you raised and made to reach them, these personages will come here in safety ; but, if there be days of delay in forwarding that sum, they will come here and do damages. On this account Govindba Mama, whom you have appointed with troops for this place, should be sent hither with all speed. When troops shall have arrived here, what is their force ? and if by writing to Surat, English troops come quickly here, we have nothing to fear.

Shah Ahmed Khan's whole army was at a considerable distance from this [*place*], but there finding grain very dear, and five seers of

rice scarcely to be got for a Rupee, he has brought them back to Bhamery, and will again cause a storm in this quarter. Therefore the fifty thousand Rupees should be raised and remitted to them, whereby the Bai and Fatesing would be got back; at the same time the Pathan would put off the design of coming here.

There are along with the Bai a thousand Pathans, who are a wicked set of fellows and not to be trusted. Therefore it is necessary to equip Mama's detachment without delay and put them on the road hitherwards. There are still more Pathans gathered about the Bai.

1803 *Baroda, 7th August, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 146)*

Information about Fatesing.

Fatesing Fatesing and his mother are in the custody of Kalla Khan. We did not see them, but understood that they had been more closely watched since the retreat of the Khan's troops from Songarh.

1803 *Baroda, 11th August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)*

Report from Kushalgar Gosain.

Plot I heard at Vajpur as well as in Holkar's camp, of Fatesingrao and his mother being with the detachment of Shah Ahmed Khan. The sepoys and shopkeepers spoke of a plot to place Fatesing on the throne of Baroda.

1803 *Baroda, 25th August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 43/51)*

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

Ransom I have the honour to enclose for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council translations of several letters conveying intelligence of the arrival of Fatesingrao and his mother at Vyara.

They have obtained their release on condition of paying 50,000 Rupees to Shah Ahmed Khan, for which they have passed a bond, and left Fatesing's maternal cousin as a hostage.

The ability of this Government to raise the amount of the ransom in cash is very doubtful. I have already intimation that they will apply to the Company for assistance, and in this case I should wish for the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council's instructions.

Fatesing will now at any rate find his way to Baroda, and will probably have some weight in the future council of the Government. We may therefore turn this circumstance to our advantage by appearing to take an early interest in his fortunes.

No. 1. Anpurnabai to Sitaram Bapu, dated Vyara, 23rd August.

My son has written to you fully the sum of fifty thousand Rupees demanded by the Pathans for his ransom and leave to come to this country. Without discharging that amount to Zenghis Khan and Jamal Khan, who are along with us, they will not allow us to advance. Therefore contrive to remit that money, and having satisfied them thereby, we will come on with our son.

No. 2. Fatesingrao Gaikwad to Sitaram Bapu.

Shah Ahmed Khan demanded fifty thousand Rupees for my leave to come here. Zenghis Khan and Jamal Khan then stood security

for that sum to Shah Ahmed Khan, on which they conducted me from Malpur to Nandurbar. There the son of my maternal uncle, Balajirao, was kept as hostage till the liquidation of fifty thousand Rupees. I came by the way of Navapur to Songarh, and thence arrived here [Vyara] yesterday.

I am accompanied by Zenghis Khan and Jamal Khan for the money. They were this day calling for the amount agreed on for my ransom and of their expenses; to which I assured them I would immediately address my elder brother and you (and bring answers from Baroda), as I have done accordingly.

As I am now so near, I am anxious that the money may be immediately paid, that I may have it in my power to behold the feet of my elder brother.

Both the Pathans by much entreaty with Shah Ahmed succeeded in bringing me off, but they will not allow me to approach you before paying the sum they stand bound for. I trust therefore you will use diligence to effect this point and send me an answer to this request. A respite of ten days has been accorded for the discharge of this sum, all which you will perceive clearly from Manaji's more particular verbal communications.

No. 3. Balajirao Mama to Sitaram Bapu.

From His Highness Fatesingrao's letter to you you will perceive how he is at present circumstanced. Why write much?

Remarks in the Diary.

Manaji (Jivanji), to whom Fatesing in his letter refers for further information, after showing an intimate acquaintance with the affairs of his young Master and relating what has been written before, speaking of the Khans, Zenghis and Jamal, says they are soldiers of fortune, who were lately in the service of Jaswantrao Holkar, with whom they quarrelled, and abandoned his standard about two months ago, when they came to the camp of Shah Ahmed Khan, where they hung on seeking employment unsuccessfully; and there coming to a knowledge of the hard case of Fatesing and his mother they interested themselves, as has been stated in Fatesing's letter, hoping to be rewarded by people of their rank for the part they took to obtain their release.

*The two
Khans*

These two jamadars have between them two hundred horses and as many foot under their command, and have now no connection with Holkar nor with Shah Ahmed Khan, excepting this state of security in which they have entered for Fatesing's freedom and his mother's, who have given their word that they will make the amount good. They are followed by the holders of orders upon this fund, who will go back from Vyara when satisfied; and the jamadars themselves will be at liberty to escort the mother and son to this place, and either stay in the employ of them, whom they have emancipated from captivity and exile, if this Government approved, or wander somewhere else in search of bread.

1803 *Baroda, 20th August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)*

Alexander Walker to Major-General Wellesley.

Ransom I have the honour to inform you that Fatesingrao Gaikwad and his mother have arrived at Vyara in the athavisi under an escort of 3 or 4,000 Pathans. They have obtained their liberty from Shah Ahmed Khan on condition of paying a ransom of 50,000 Rupees, for which they have executed a bond and left the maternal cousin of Fatesing as an hostage, until the sum is discharged. Possibly the release of these prisoners, who would have been useful instruments in the hands of Holkar or of any of his Chiefs on the event of their invading Gujarat, may be an indication that they have for the present relinquished their designs on this country.

1803 *Baroda, 27th August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)*

Alexander Walker to Colonel Watson in command at Songarh.

Rescuing Fatesing You are no doubt apprised of the arrival of Fatesing and his mother at Vyara. They have engaged to pay 50,000 Rupees for their ransom ; but, as this sum will require a little time to raise, the Pathans, who have accompanied the prisoners to receive it, have become impatient and threaten, unless it is paid immediately, to carry the persons in question back their former confinement.

Orders have been sent to the Gaikwad officers to prevent this by force, if necessary ; and as it is of the utmost importance to keep Fatesing in Gujarat, I must beg you will be so good as to afford every assistance in your power. It would be of great importance to get Fatesing out of the hands of the Pathans, and perhaps you might effect this by marching 200 Europeans rank and file to Vyara, whence if you could send the person of Fatesing, without proceeding to hostilities with his guards, it would be rendering an essential service to the Gaikwad Government and to the public cause. Perhaps Fatesing and his mother may be prevailed on to visit you, or to admit you to visit them ; in either case it may be in your power to give them in charge of the Gaikwad troops ; and should Fatesing express a wish for an escort of our own to Baroda, it would be proper to comply with it.

The Pathans should at the same time be fully assured that it is intended to discharge honourably the amount of Fatesing's ransom.

1803 *Bombay, 3rd September, 1803 (1803 S. & P. D. 147)*

Jonathan Duncan's Minute.

In the athavisi For some time past I have been doubtful whether it is our interest to promote and particularly to be at any expense for the recovery of the person of Fatesing from the hands of the Pathans, into which his mother and her relations do not seem to have been altogether unwilling agents when they first entered ; and it is to the full as likely that on their arrival at Baroda, they will become burthensome to the local Administration, and soon desire to intrude themselves more into the management than may be suitable to the system now established there.

Under these impressions, I had written to Major Walker to desist from all attempts to liberate Fatesing ; and orders had in consequence

been circulated to the Gaikwad officers in the athavisi. But, as a similar prohibition had not been deemed necessary to be transmitted to the officer in command of the British detachment at Songarh, it is probable that, availing themselves of the sufferance induced by the first instructions to the commanding officer at the post in question to favour the passage of Fatesing through the athavisi districts, the Pathans in charge of this young prince have been allowed, as not exceeding the number of men that were prescribed for his own escort, to pass as far into the interior of the athavisi, as Vyara, where he and they would now appear to have taken up their abode in expectation of the sum of half a lakh of Rupees being raised for his ransom.

Fatesing is the next undoubted heir to the Gaikwad Principality, after Anandrao, who at present occupies that masnad. His presence either at Surat or Baroda may therefore operate at present the good effect of proving a further check at present on the ambitious designs of Kanhoji, but not (I apprehend) to such a degree as to have rendered his presence on the whole desirable, if he had not thus effected his own entrance into his brother's territories; whence if we now drive him out, or let him be carried back by the Pathans, the event may tend to reflect discredit on our nature, besides the serious indisposition that may thence be generated in the mind of him, of his mother and of her relations in consequence of our evincing such an indifference to their distress.

From these considerations I acquiesce in Major Walker's present views of the expediency of our endeavouring to negotiate this person's and his mother's release from the Pathans' custody; but the money should not be advanced by the Company; although the Major may find it indispensably requisite to engage the security of this Government to any shroff or shroffs or other persons that will raise the necessary funds to procure the release of these parties, under a stipulation that the same shall be repaid with interest in one or two years by regular instalments; relying also as I confidently do on the Major's endeavours to reduce the amount of this ransom as much as may be found practicable.

Surat, 3rd September, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)

1803

Colonel Murray to Alexander Walker.

I have been informed that Fatesing (brother, I believe, of the Gaikwad) is at a place between Surat and Songarh. His force is represented at five hundred horse, and it is added that he has a numerous body of infantry, which he is privately increasing. Fatesing was permitted, I believe, to enter the Company's territories, but I conceive this increase of force must be contrary to his engagements, and I am sorry to add that he has levied a duty on the public cattle returning from Songarh. I am unwilling to take any steps, till I hear from you on this subject. *Coming*

Baroda, 5th September, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)

1803

Alexander Walker to John Murray.

On the subject of Fatesing I have the honour to enclose a copy of a letter to the late Committee at Surat, and I am in hopes of daily *Coming*

receiving the orders of Government about him. Lieut.-Colonel Watson will probably impart to you a letter which I addressed some time ago on this subject to him, and I shall be very happy to hear that he has succeeded in rescuing Fatesing from the Pathans.

In the meantime this Administration will do everything in their power to disperse his followers ; and although I am [*not*] willing to believe that so young a boy with such inadequate means can have any idea of opposing himself to a senior brother now upon the masnad, yet I confess to you that there is something equivocal in the circumstances of his egress from the enemy's camp, escorted by a party of horse so lately in their service.

This may afford sufficient ground for suggesting precautions to be taken against any bad advice that Fatesing may act upon, and to prepare to prevent the accomplishment of any objects prejudicial to the tranquillity of the country.

I shall have the honour of forwarding to you to-morrow my communication with the Gaikwad Darbar on this subject, and I shall continue most cordially to transmit such information as may from time to time reach me respecting the parties who are inimical to Gujarat.

1803 *Letter from Alexander Walker to the late Surat Committee, dated 5th September.*

Pathans

The arrival of Fatesingrao at Vyara was an event entirely unexpected and, although not unacceptable to this Government, was without its previous sanction. His being accompanied however by so many Pathans was neither with the consent of the Gaikwad Administration, nor has it met its approbation, but it becomes a difficult question how to get rid of these visitors, who have entered the province under the faith of an engagement contracted with the legitimate heir of the Gaikwad masnad, and whose person they still hold as a pledge for its performance. Under these circumstances this Government feels considerable embarrassment ; and, while it is anxious to extricate Fatesing from his present delicate situation, it is unable to make a prompt payment ; and it also requires some security from the Pathans that they will not detain their prisoner after his ransom has been paid.

In the meantime a bill for 10,000 Rupees has been remitted from this [*place*] and an assurance given to the Pathans that the remainder will be honourably discharged, but requiring first that Fatesing shall be suffered to cross the Narbada. The Pathans are strictly prohibited from advancing further ; and should they not attend to this injunction, it would be justifiable in my opinion to oblige them to conform to it by force.

In respect to the disposal of Lieut. Eammonson's party, he should, I think, either rejoin his corps or take the field with the disposable force ordered towards the Narbada, since I imagine you will have detailed the number of troops allotted for the defence of Surat independent either of his detachment or that of the 1st battalion of the 6th Regiment.

Of these two modes I should consider it preferable that Lieut. Eammonson was ordered to join his corps at Baroda.

Baroda, 6th September, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)

1803

Letter from John Watson to Alexander Walker, dated 3rd September.

I was yesterday favoured with your letter of the 27th August, *Ransom* which reached me at Vyara on my way to Surat, whither I have received orders to march, having been relieved by Captain Vincent of His Majesty's 84th Regiment and a hundred Europeans.

Finding that Fatesing was still in the neighbourhood of Vyara, I had a conference with the chief officer of the Gaikwad Government resident there, and learnt that he had not any instructions from his Government to act till the arrival of an escort, which he informed me was on its way from Baroda with the 50,000 Rupees for Fatesing's ransom.

I however had an opportunity of waiting on Fatesing, and it does not appear that the Pathans are by any means impatient. Indeed they appear to have had information that the money as also conveyance for his proceeding to Baroda are already on their way to join him at Vyara.

As it did not appear to me that my interfering could possibly assist in obtaining possession of his person without proceeding to hostilities, I have in compliance with the orders I have received this morning proceeded on my march to Surat, whither I have transmitted a copy of your letter.

Baroda, 7th September, 1803 (1803, P. D.)

1803

Alexander Walker to John Murray.

Since I had the honour to address you yesterday, I have received *Pathans* such intelligence of Fatesing, his mother and the armed people who have escorted them to Vyara, as suggests the propriety of taking immediate steps to secure the persons of the former and detach from their adherence the party of Pathans.

I enclose for your information those pieces of intelligence.

Paper No. 1 is the substance of a letter from an agent of the Gaikwad Government at Vyara to the Diwan here.

Paper No. 2 contains copies of addresses to the Diwan from Fatesing, his mother and maternal uncle.

The amount agreed upon by the captives for their ransom was Rs. 50,000, which, they acknowledge, the Diwan asserted them he would endeavour to discharge; but their design of retaining these Pathans in their service indicates a disposition inconsistent with their rank and relation to the Gujarat State.

I would therefore, Sir, solicit your countenance to a negotiation, which I think very honourable for your more effective influence in the event of our overtures being rejected.

The Diwan or Minister of the Gaikwad Government had, in part liquidation of the amount for Fatesing's ransom, sent a draft for Rupees 10,000 to Govindba Mama, which, as he still holds the Marathi letter to his address under cover, directs him to deliver up to yourself or to the officer commanding the English troops, as you will perceive

by the translation thereof (Paper No. 3) till its application be ultimately determined on.

That letter as well as the others accompanying to Sankroji Phadke, killadar of Vyara, and Savji, a sardar, show the disposition of the Administration here to discharge the debt contracted by their young prince in his captivity in order to obtain his liberty; it also avows their determination and orders to act in concurrence with the English authority and under your advice.

It is hard to say what political uses Holkar or any of the confederated enemies might make of this heir-apparent to the masnad of Baroda, were he to get back into their hands, or what mischief he might be the cause of, were he to remain in these districts at large and discontent.

It would be proper that the officer, whom you may be pleased to appoint to this service, should in the first instant assure the Pathans that their just demands on Fatesing will be discharged. I have enclosed a few lines in the Persian and Marathi languages to be delivered to these parties by the officer commanding the detachment. But, should they not be satisfied with this and insist on their expenses being defrayed besides, or betray any inclinations hostile to the interests of the British Government or our ally, it would be justifiable and highly proper in my opinion to take into safe custody the persons of Fatesing and his mother, carrying them to Surat, and giving to the Pathans the option of a peaceable retreat or of driving them by force out of Gujarat. These are also the sentiments of the Gaikwad Administration at Baroda, and their troops are ordered to obey your instructions; but in the case of proceeding to hostility, I beg strongly to recommend every attention to the safety and comfort of Fatesing and his mother.

No. 1. Venkateshrao Lakshman, karkun of the Gaikwad at Vyara, to Sitaram Raoji, dated 4th September, 1803.

Ransom

On the day of writing, the mother of Fatesing sent the Pathans to Venkatesh for money to defray their expenses. He declared he had no money. They said the Bai, *i.e.* the lady, called him, and they carried him before her. He took Mir Saf Raz Ali along with him. The Bai bade Venkatesh pay them Rs. 500, saying she would otherwise put him into the hands of the Pathans. Then Mir Saf Raz offered to pay Rupees 300 to-morrow morning, and I was let go.

The Bai has received altogether Rupees 1,400 from Songarh and Vyara. The remaining Rupees 600 of Rs. 2,000, which were ordered by the Diwan to be paid, they cannot muster; and the sibandis of Government are, as well as the Bai's train, in distress for subsistence.

Venkatesh would willingly exert himself agreeable to his instructions to obtain the friendship of the Bai and Fatesing, and get them into the hands of their family; but he avers that the Bai is partial to the Pathans, and imparts every piece of advice, that is offered to her, to them, insisting on their being paid daily Rupees 500 subsistence to their whole number, which amounts to 800 men.

He advises that the apprehension of the English Power, which possessed the Pathans, will vanish from the departure of Colonel Watson and his detachment towards Surat; that they will be liable to commit depredations, if their demands be not complied with speedily, or them-

selves be driven from the district. Venkatesh would therefore have Colonel Watson's detachment stationed at Kathodra or Cambay.

He concludes with an earnest advice to remit money to the Bai (to clear their ransom and expenses), and the troops to be in readiness in case the Pathans should persist in a hostile conduct.

No. 2. Fatesingrao to Sitaramrao, dated 2nd September, 1803.

I have received your letter of the 28th August, in which it is written : *Request*
 "I am endeavouring to raise Rupees 50,000 to meet the demands of the Pathans, and will at a future period remit the money ; but tell the Pathans, if a few days should intervene, that the amount is not yet ready, and it is always a business that requires time."

In answer thereto I have to inform you that the Pathans are very pressing for the money, and their expenses daily amount to Rupees 500, for which I have no fund here. I have spoken plainly to the Pathans about the Rs. 50,000 since I came here, but they are always wanting money for their expenses, and I wish you would immediately send, as intended, Balaji Lakshman and Dondi Keshow.

The Pathans are servants and are very clamorous for their subsistence, which amounts to 500 Rupees daily. I speak to them candidly about the Rs. 50,000, for which my uncle is left as hostage in the camp, which I could not get so far as this by any other means. Leaving him as hostage I took these Pathans into service and have got on here.

No. 3. Letter from Fatesing's mother to Sitaram Raoji.

Anpurnabai, mother of Fatesing, writes under the same date a letter to Sitaram Raoji of exactly similar purport.

She opens by approving of his [*Sitaram's*] assurance that he is mustering the amount of the ransom, Rs. 50,000, adding that from my son's letter you will learn the necessity of defraying the daily expenses of the Pathans, who are their servants.

No. 4. Letter from Balajirao to Sitaram Raoji.

Balajirao Mama, brother of the above, wrote at the same time to Sitaram Raoji a few lines, of which the following is a translation :

"I was happy at seeing the letter you sent. Now after Raoba Baba you are superior. You will learn particularly from the letter of Shrimant Baba Saheb."

No. 5. Sitaram Raoji, Diwan, to Govind Mama, dated Baroda, 7th September, 1803.

After your departure hence I sent a hundi, or bill or Rupees 10,000 ^{10,000 Rupees} in part of the Rupees 50,000, which the Pathans, who have come along with Fatesingrao Baba Saheb and his lady mother, demand, as they allege, in consequence of an agreement to that effect for their ransom.

That hundi or bill you must deliver to the Colonel or the officer commanding a detachment that now proceeds thither. The Colonel will satisfy or enlighten them about the fifty thousand Rupees. If the mother and son be both willing to come into our camp or the Company's, they will be well received. If they should not both consent to come

unaccompanied by the Pathans, these last must be punished or treated as the Colonel shall think proper, whose orders you must abide implicitly.

No. 6. Alexander Walker to Zenghis Khan and Jamal Khan, jamadars.

Promise I have heard of your coming along with Fatesingrao and his mother to Vyara to receive a sum of money for their ransom. Colonel Murray now sends from Surat a British officer to give you such assurances as I hope will satisfy you.

No. 7. Alexander Walker to Fatesingrao.

Advice I have seen your and [your] mother's letters of the 2nd September to Sitaram Raoji, the minister of your Superior, the Gaikwad Raja ; and at his request I engaged to extricate you from the restraint of the Pathans.

In as far as regards your liberty and ease, now and hereafter, I conjure you to comply with the directions of the officer, whom Colonel Murray will depute to advise and assist you. You may come immediately under the protection of the English troops or those of your elder brother, the Gaikwad Raja. There is no want of troops in this place. There is no occasion therefore to retain longer the Pathans, who have accompanied you to Vyara.

1803 *Baroda, 10th September, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 148)*

Alexander Walker to Colonel Murray.

Escort I am very happy to perceive that Colonel Watson was still at Vyara, as it will facilitate and expedite the object of my address to you of the 7th instant, regarding the extrication of Fatesing and his mother from the hands of the Pathans. Sitaram the Diwan's own paga or troops has been sent to escort Fatesing here and act agreeably to your orders.

1803 *Surat, 12th September, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 148)*

Colonel Murray to James Grant.

Free I have the honour to acquaint you that Fatesing and his mother have been extricated from the hands of the Pathans without bloodshed, and remitted to the Gaikwad officer by the address of Lieutenant-Colonel Watson, whom I sent on this service.

Lieutenant-Colonel Watson permitted the Pathans to proceed to Baroda at the request of the sarsubah, and sent an escort of the troops under his command with them.

1803 *Baroda, 13th September, 1803 (1803, P. D. 43/52)*

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

Letters I have the honour to enclose for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council copies of two letters to Col. Murray, both of this date.

No. 1. Letter from Alexander Walker to John Murray, dated Baroda, 13th September.

Pathans I received last night a letter from Lieut.-Colonel Watson under date the 10th instant from Bardoli, by which it does not appear that

Fatesing goes to Surat, but comes straight for this place [*Baroda*], accompanied by the Pathans. I was in great hopes that your previous arrangement of carrying this young man to Surat might have succeeded; where he would have appeared clearly under our protection, and which would have left time for every other arrangement respecting him.

For various reasons, some of which you are, Sir, aware of, the Pathans cannot be received into the Gaikwad service, and there are also very weighty motives that would prevent them being permitted to come to Baroda, especially in the train of Fatesing. They would not only disturb this Administration, but most probably, from the state of affairs here, excite a faction, that would require the recall of our troops to quiet it.

The person assuming the title of sarsubah was some time ago turned out of that office and recalled to Baroda, but on the idea that he was acceptable to Fatesing he was imprudently permitted to return. This person is again ordered back, and he had no authority whatever for the step he has taken in respect to the Pathans.

On every ground of public advantage I am induced to solicit the adoption of such measures as may be in your power either to detain the Pathans at Bardoli or to bring them to Surat, where they may wait until they are paid what has been agreed on by Fatesing, and afterwards disposed of without being allowed to come to the northward of the Narbada. I have the pleasure to enclose orders under the Raja's seal and signature to this effect as also letters from the Diwan; and while the Pathans may be assured that they shall receive every justice, they should also be informed that this Government will not consider itself answerable for any part of Fatesing's stipulations, unless they continue to the southward of the Tapti.

No. 2. Letter from Alexander Walker to John Murray, dated 13th September.

I am sorry still to express my apprehensions that the arrival of *Anxiety* Fatesing and his mother at this place with the Pathans in their train is capable of creating an infinite deal of intrigue and trouble.

Every candid friend of the Gaikwad Government is free to confess his suspicions, and would seek by every means to shut out these Pathans from the province of Gujarat proper, and keep them at a distance from the seat of the Government. Indeed I am firmly of opinion that, if Fatesing with his mother were themselves to reside at Surat some time in the place you ordered to be prepared for their reception, it would be preferable to their resorting to this place immediately; but, should they not agree to go there, still I am in hopes from the favourable character of the Pathan chief that he may be prevailed upon to allow Fatesing to advance to Baroda alone, and return to Surat under the assurance that the Hon'ble Company will see their just claims complied with.

Baroda, 13th September, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)
Anandrao Gaikwad to Fatesing.

1803

As our finances are very low, you must not bring here the Pathans, *Orders* who came in your service from Nandurbar. You have promised them a present, which will be accounted to them on the banks of the Tapti.

The sarkar's saranjam of government troops have gone to escort you, and a small English detachment will also be furnished to you, with which you must come and meet me quickly; absolutely you must not bring a man of the Pathans with you.

1803 *Broach, 17th September, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)*

John Murray to Alexander Walker.

Escort I have sent an order to the officer commanding the escort under various pretences to occasion delays, till I can reinforce him, which cannot be till to-morrow. Fatesing crossed the Narbada the day before yesterday. I have sent to find out where he is.

The 65th Regiment cross that river to-morrow, when by relieving the garrison here I shall be enabled to send off a reinforcement of one hundred men to the escort; which will be fully sufficient for every purpose.

A considerable embarrassment may arise in the disposal of these Pathans. Upon this subject I have not yet been able to decide. I shall probably be obliged to send an escort with them to Songarh.

I should wish myself to accompany the reinforcement, and shall do so if I can finish my arrangements here. If I do not myself go, I shall send Captain Steele.

You may depend upon every effort on my part to accomplish the object you have in view.

1803 *Baroda, 18th September, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)*

Alexander Walker to John Murray.

Orders Finding, since I wrote you, that Fatesing and his mother with the Pathans in their train had crossed the Narbada, the Gaikwad Government with my concurrence have now addressed their officers with Fatesing to approach to within three kos of Baroda and halt at, or near, a village, named Makarpura, where the business may be more easily settled from this [place] with the parties.

I have therefore to request you will be so good as to allow the reinforcement you intend to accompany, to remain with them, when they have reached Makarpura, till the matter be finally and amicably arranged. I would be sorry that coercive steps should be taken against these foreigners, so long as any others may succeed.

1803 *Baroda, 19th September, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)*

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

Letters I have the honour to enclose the sequel of my correspondence with Colonel Murray respecting Fatesing and the Pathans who have accompanied him from Vyara.

1803 *No. 1. Alexander Walker to John Murray, dated 16th September.*

Pathans The arrival of the Pathans at Baroda in the train of Fatesing presents so many inconveniences to this Administration that they are still extremely anxious to prevent it, and for that purpose they sent yesterday orders under the seal of the Raja to each of the parties in question, positively commanding them not to cross the Narbada.

In order to enforce this injunction of the Sovereign, Sakharam Chinnaji, the brother of the Diwan, will proceed from hence to-morrow

with such a small force as is at present procurable here, and I have ordered Lt. Ballantine to accompany him with a few sepoys of my guard. I have also addressed Jamal Khan, the chief of the Pathans, and have the honour to enclose a copy of my letter.

I am not confident in the success of these measures, as they are not supported by sufficient forces ; but, should it be in your power to assist them, Sir, it would be rendering a very essential public service and prevent much inconveniency at present and embarrassment in future.

Fatesing is not far from Anklesvar and but very little out of the route of the troops now on their way from Surat. There is, besides the Pathans, a party of 300 or 400 Gaikwad cavalry in the interest of the Administration, and which would be sufficient, with such assistance as you may judge necessary to extend, to accomplish, I conceive, the objects which my letter to Jamal Khan explains.

No. 2. Letter from Alexander Walker to Jamal Khan, dated 16th September.

I have received an exceeding good character of you from the *Advice* Colonel, who visited you at Vyara ; which makes me desirous of serving you, were it in my power ; but I perceive no way of doing it at present but by telling you the truth.

It has already been intimated to you that the Government at Baroda do not wish you and your Pathans to come into this country. A shroff now proceeds to meet you and pay to you at Surat, or any place most agreeable to receive it, the sum of fifty thousand Rupees, promised by Fatesing and his mother for their ransom. This I advise you to accept and peaceably to depart with all your followers wihther-soever you please without coming to the north of the Narbada, and allow Fatesing and his mother to repair to their family at Baroda under the escort of the Gaikwad cavalry and English troops who are ordered for that service.

I shall be happy to hear of your future good fortune as often as you feel disposed to favour me with your friendly communications.

Camp, 21st September, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 148)

1803

Major-General Wellesley to James Grant.

It is my decided opinion that the offer of Fatesingrao and his *Opinion* mother to come to Baroda, provided a ransom is paid for their release, is sincere. I found this opinion upon the fact that they have entered the Company's territories, attended by but a small party of horse. If their intentions were hostile, or if they had any intention excepting that of being released from the hands of the Pathans, they could have brought with them a much larger body of troops ; and the conduct of this body of troops would have been very different from that observed by those troops with Fatesingrao at present.

Upon a perusal of the papers transmitted by Major Walker I don't see the slightest ground for a belief that the intentions of Fatesingrao and his mother are different from those which they have declared that they entertain.

But whether it be true or not that Fatesingrao and his mother have evil intentions, in my opinion it is necessary first to determine whether it is worth 50,000 Rupees to have possession of their persons.

If that should be determined in the negative, those persons and the Pathans ought to be ordered to withdraw from the Company's territories forthwith, and they ought to be driven out if they should refuse to comply with this desire.

If it should be determined that the ransom ought to be paid, respecting which in my opinion there can be no doubt, the money ought to be prepared without loss of time, and sent in charge of a sufficient body of troops to meet the Pathans. Fatesingrao and his mother should then be called upon to deliver themselves over to the British troops, and the money ought to be paid upon their arrival in the British camp. If there should be any difficulties on the part of the Pathans, or they should refuse to retire after having delivered over the persons of Fatesingrao and his mother, they ought to be attacked and driven out.

In my opinion however every attempt to procure the release of Fatesingrao and his mother without paying the demanded ransom, or after paying a part of it, is inconsistent with the scrupulous good faith which ought to direct all our transactions with the natives. It is true that the Gaikwad Government did not consent in terms to pay 50,000 Rupees for the release of Fatesingrao and his mother ; but, when that ransom was demanded, and the Government were informed that they were coming down the Ghats with 500 Pathans, and the Government admitted them in the country, they virtually consented to pay the ransom for which they came ; and any attempt to get possession of the persons of Fatesingrao and his mother without paying any ransom or after paying only a part is a direct breach of faith. If the Government did not intend to pay the ransom, they ought not to have admitted the Pathans into the country.

While writing upon this subject, I cannot avoid expressing my approbation of the prudent conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Watson at Vyara.

1803 *Baroda, 7th October, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)*

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

Plot I never apprehended that the arrival of Fatesing within the Gaikwad territories would be attended with an overt act of hostility, but I could not view with indifference his entertaining the Pathans as a military establishment, and bringing them in his train to Baroda.

The state of this Government is well known to the Hon'ble the Governor, and I have no doubt but he is fully sensible of all the evil consequences that would attend conceding to Fatesing the right of engaging troops in his service.

His letter from Vyara announced that he had taken this step and had burthened his brother's Government with a very considerable expense. It is strongly presumptive that Fatesing's views in fact are to deprive Anandrao of the management, and these Pathans were meant to give weight to his party, perhaps in the end to overturn the present Administration.

The Administration of Baroda constantly avowed their intention of discharging the amount of Fatesing's ransom, but this I conceive to have been entirely optional, and I beg to offer my opinion that in no

stage of this business can they be justly charged with a breach of faith direct or indirect.

The embarrassed state of their finances is well known also to the Hon'ble the Governor, and forms an admissible apology for not paying instantly 50,000 Rupees. The further claims of the Pathans for their expenses uncertain in amount, and the intention of their remaining in the situation of servants or sepoys with Fatesing furnished strong and abundant reasons for suspicion, and precaution.

I have since advised Government of the intermediate motions of *Pathans* Fatesing and the Pathans. The former entered the fort of Baroda on the 2nd instant and is now residing in the house of Gahenabai. The latter are encamped a short distance from the town, waiting a decision on their demands for arrears of pay, in consequence of their agreement with Fatesing.

I shall report separately on this subject, and it is at present sufficient to mention that, their claims, exclusive of the ransom, amount to 1,07,650½ Rupees.

The chiefs of the Pathans have received drafts on Surat for the ransom, the cash, however, on which will be paid at Songarh, when the hostages and pledges left with Shah Ahmed Khan at Nandurbar will be restored.

I have enclosed a literal translation of a narrative of Jamal Khan, the principal Pathan jamadar, in which he relates the origin and progress of his connection with Fatesing until their arrival at this capital.

It will be seen from this narrative that, the Pathans had no previous permission for entering the Gaikwad or the Company's territories, and that they were sensible that their conduct might be objected to without this permission.

Translation of declaration by Jamal Khan, the son of Kamran Khan, delivered the 4th October 1803.

I parted dissatisfied with Jaswantrao Holkar at Nandurbar and went to the camp of my caste brother, Shah Ahmed Khan, who had then come to Pimpalner, where Fatesingrao and his mother were his captive guests. Zenghis Khan was in his service. *Jamal Khan*

Manaji, Parsi, came, and said to me : "Fatesing Raja Gaikwad and his mother are both confined ; therefore, as you are a man of some consequence, and a caste brother, we wish you to speak to Shah Ahmed Khan and obtain their release and accompany them to Baroda, whereupon a jagir will be given to you ; which Fatesing, his mother and all their friends vowed to fulfil in the most solemn form. Accordingly as I had abandoned the service of Holkar, I conceived this a favourable opportunity for raising my name and obtaining employment in the Gaikwad State, and ventured to break the business to Shah Ahmed Khan, in these words : "Govindrao Maharaja conferred favours upon you, and in gratitude you ought to restore his son and widow to freedom." He however did not listen to this act of generosity, and I encouraged his risalah followers, who have friendship for me, to urge him for their arrears of pay ; and especially the aforesaid Zenghis Khan importuned him to such a degree that my security was accepted, if I promised to pay the sum of fifty thousand Rupees to Zenghis Khan, provided he

would obtain the release of Fatesing and his mother. Thus they were released from the hands of Shah Ahmed Khan.

On this occasion, the mother made the most solemn promise to pay to me within fifteen days at Nandurbar the sum of fifty thousand Rupees, which I satisfied Shah Ahmed Khan would be faithfully performed. Besides, the son of Palaonji and Mama were kept as hostages in the hands of Shah Ahmed Khan.

The Bai (Fatesing's mother) gave her ornaments to Zenghis Khan, and bade him sell them for what they would fetch and give the proceeds to Shah Ahmed Khan. These ornaments went to Nandurbar, but were not sold there for want of shroffs or other persons to purchase them. Afterwards, however, and at the Bai's request, I put Ahmed Khan in possession of them, valued at 5,065 Rupees. After this I set out hitherwards with the two royal captives.

On the way, Bughis Khan surrounded them both with a view to detain them, when my nephew, Mir Khan, drawing his dagger and declaring the manner of their ransom, deterred him by this defiance; his ranks opened, and the late captive pair passed on.

From Nandurbar we arrived on the third day at Navapur, whither I was brought by Palonji, Parsi, who showed me a letter stating that Songarh should soon be in possession of Fatesing and urging me to go on.

I had expressed my unwillingness to advance from Nandurbar to Navapur, because I had neither authority from the Gaikwad's Diwan, Sitaram, nor from the English; and consequently I conceived it dangerous to enter their territories. Palonji, the Parsi, there requested me to give him 150 Rupees and 100 men to establish them at Songarh, which station, he averred, was deserted, and that afterwards we might come on. I gave him Rupees 150 and 50 men, with which he came on to Navapur, whence he wrote: "Songarh is empty. Bhagwanbhai has written: you must come quickly. If not, the English will take the fort. If you cannot come yourself, send on Fatesing Maharaja with a hundred men, and the fort will be committed to his charge." Such was the letter received, and which is now with the Bai.

I came then to Navapur and asked the Parsi Palonji: "Have you established a thana or not?" He answered: "I have warned of your approach; come on therefore to Songarh." I observed that there was an English garrison there, and asked if he intended I should go to fight there. He replied: "Bhagwanbhai, who is there, will give money to defray expenses." I then, being desirous to see Bhagwanbhai, sent to Songarh Boj Roj, bakhshi, and Said Jaffir accompanied by Manaji, khidmatgar.

On their arrival Manaji went into the fort, but Bhagwanbhai did not come to them that night. On the morning Bhagwanbhai came and met my messengers. They asked him: "How is it? Did you propose to give up the fort?" He made answer: "When I before sent a letter, you did not come, I will now write a letter to Sitaram and obtain an answer; you must come without fear; both the royal persons are my Masters, I meditate no deceit in my heart. Do you come?" Having made these assurances I came to Songarh. Thereupon Rs. 400 were given to defray expenses, and an entertainment was made for us.

On the second day Bhagwanbhai said : "You must not remain at this place, there are Englishmen here, and without their consent nothing can be done ; you should therefore proceed to Vyara, where is a fort, which will be given up to His Highness, and where there are horse and other troops of the Marathas."

Palonji at this stage suggested the seizing of the kamavisdar and others and levying contributions of money from them ; but I assured all that I should follow no advice but my Master's order.

On our arrival at Vyara about fifty of my people went into the fort ; whereupon Fatesing sent for me and forbade any of our people going into the fort, saying : "I do not want the fort. If my conduct is wise or approved of, I will have all the raj."

Mama proposed to seize the person of a rich Parsi at that place and extract money from him, also to address orders for cash on the different kamavisdars or collectors in the districts. On all which Mir Saf Raz Ali positively declared that without his Master's permission the least thing should not be obtained by such means.

At Vyara Rs. 2,000 were supplied for subsistence. I am not the servant of either of them, but Zenghis Khan and others have been servants from Nandurbar ; and Mama, wishing the rest to come along, wrote an agreement and entered my name as security for its performance.

It was not my design to remain in their service. My view in coming to Baroda was to secure that credit and reward I expected. What passed at Vyara, when the Colonel came there, is known. The Bai assured me, and I believed and acted upon it, that on reaching the environs of Baroda a lakh of Rupees would be given to me as reward, and thus and not till then would they enter the fort. These were not common sayings but vows of sincerity.

On Colonel Watson's going to Surat, he went by the way of Vyara, at which time I asked Mama and Bhagwanbhai why his detachment had come there. They answered : "He was going to Surat." On the following day the Colonel came back with his whole detachment, and he himself, attended by Mr. Shorr and another Gentleman, came to visit Fatesing and his mother. The Colonel asked if Jamal Khan and Zenghis Khan would come to his tent. It was answered that we would. When called, the same night, about eight o'clock, I, and Zenghis Khan, and Said Jaffir, and Calipha, and Mir Saf Raz Ali with Mama waited upon the Colonel, who showed us chairs to sit down, and entered into conversation with us, making Mr. Shorr stand as interpreter.

The Colonel said : "Fatesing and his mother are under your restraint. Take fifty thousand Rupees for them, and deliver them freely over to me." I replied : "We are servants ; they are not under our restraint ; the Bai and Baba (mother and son) are the principals. If they are to be delivered over to you, Mama will do it, I am not to do it." The Colonel rejoined : "Jamal Khan, I will make you prisoner." I answered : "You may give me to the mouth of a gun or to the gallows, or shut me up in confinement ; but it is not in my power to give up these two personages to you. I have in the first place three things to guard : *viz.*, Rupees 50,000, the right of Shah Ahmed Khan, the wages of these servants, and the supplies advanced to defray expenses." The Colonel

thereupon said : "I have no orders about wages, I have only orders to give 50,000 Rupees "

At the time the Colonel said he would make me a prisoner, there were four Pathans with me, who murmured ill meanings expressed in the Persian language, which I silenced speaking in the same dialect. In two ghurris or after an hour or so, I was permitted to take my leave and returned to my lodgings.

On the following morning the Colonel (beating drums) placed sentinels or pickets around our camp, on which our people repaired to their posts. Whereupon the Bai got up, and went to the Colonel's tent, and remonstrated with the Colonel for offering uneasiness to the Pathans, saying : "I would rather remain with you than they should be ill-used."

It was agreed between the Colonel and me that our respective detachments should each march on different sides of Fatesing, and in this order we arrived at Bardoli. There we met Balaji Pant, who, having paid his respects to Fatesing, gave to him Rupees 4,000 for expenses, cloths, an elephant and horse, and conversed with me. I demanded our wages. Balaji Pant answered : "I knew not that you were servants ; you ought to go on to Baroda." On that same day I went to the Colonel's tent. The Colonel presented me with wine to drink and bread to eat, and said : "Major Walker is a worthy gentleman, and Sitaram Raoji is a good man ; they will discharge your wages." In that manner, before Balaji Pant the Colonel expressed himself, and departed for Surat.

1803 *Baroda, 6th November, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)*

Alexander Walker to Edward Galley.

Ransom I have the pleasure to enclose three sets of bills for the sum of forty-three thousand Rupees on account of Fatesing's ransom. I request you will be so good as to send this money under an escort to Songarh, consigned to the commanding officer of the English troops at that station, and with instructions to pay the amount to Bajirao Gopal, when he requires it, taking his receipt for the same.

No. 1. Memorandum of the ransom money of Fatesing.

<i>Ransom</i>	Mangal Parekh	..	..	..	..	Rs. 10,000
	Samal Bechar	..	..	..	..	„ 10,000
	Amount forfeited by Appaji Anand Phadke	..	..	..	..	„ 10,000
	Parbhudas Seth	..	..	..	..	„ 20,000
						<hr/> Rs. 50,000 <hr/>

N.B.—The profits of the tanksall [*mint*] of Baroda and a varat on Kathiawar have been granted for the discharge of the above sum. The Resident is guarantee that it will be discharged in the course of six months.

No. 2. Major Walker's guarantee.

Promise Received of Trivedi Arjunji Nathji the sum of twenty-one thousand Rupees to pay the Pathans employed by Fatesingrao, and who came in his company to Baroda ; which shall be paid in the space of six months

from the date hereof by Anandrao Gaikwad. In case he should not discharge this sum within that period, then I bind myself to pay the amount. Dated Baroda, 31st October, 1803.

No. 3. Letter from Jamal Khan, Zenghis Khan, Said Jaffir Gul Khan 1803 and Aam Khan to Major Walker, dated 30th October.

We having come from Nandurbar to Baroda in the service of Fatesing, the son of the late Govindrao Gaikwad, and having received our dismissal from the Gaikwad sarkar, acknowledge to have been paid for the maintenance of the officers and people under us the sum of Rupees twenty-thousand (20,000) from you on account of all demands during the above period of our employ, and we shall make no further claims upon the sarkar on the head of wages. *Satisfied*

In addition to the twenty thousand Rupees (20,000) already acknowledged, we have received five thousand Rupees which you have been pleased to give, with which we are satisfied and relinquish further claims for our services.

Having acknowledged this receipt of our wages from you, and subscribed to our state of satisfaction at your decision, we engage within three days to settle accounts with our people and on the fourth day to quit the precincts of Baroda, and bind ourselves to be responsible for any damage that may be done by our followers within the Hon'ble Company's or the Gaikwad's districts.

Baroda, 10th November, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)

1803

Baroda Residency information.

List of presents given to the Pathans :

Presents

To Jamal Khan : 1 turban, 2 shawls, 1 gilt watch.

To Zenghis Khan : 1 turban, 2 shawls, 1 silver watch.

Baroda, 21st November, 1803 (1803, P. D. 54)

1803

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

I request you will be pleased to inform the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the Pathans who came in company with Fatesing have this day marched from Baroda and will pass out of Gujarat by the same route that they entered it. *Depart*

The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will not be surprised at the length of time which this adjustment has required, when he considers the public and private claims which it involved and the difficulty of satisfying men whose expectations have been so much disappointed. *Delay*

It appears that the Pathans expected a permanent settlement in Gujarat and an ample provision in the Gaikwad service. They had been led to entertain these hopes from the extravagant, interested promises chiefly of Fatesing's mother. Very ill-informed of the state of affairs in this country, these parties expected to enjoy a large share of its power and wealth.

It appears also that the Pathans had lost no opportunity of obtaining concessions from their prisoners, principally by obliging them to consent to the increase of their quota of men, and by various little expedients, bringing them in their debts for nominal loans of money.

If we were however to balance these mutual deceits, the account would perhaps be against the mother of Fatesing. After being confronted with her, and after a steadfast denial on her part, the Pathans relinquished the claims which they had for service and arrears ; but they at the same time appealed to me and submitted their case to the justice of the Company, urging that they had incurred expenses and contracted debts, which, without assistance, they were incapable of discharging, nor had they even the means of supporting their way out of the Gaikwad territories.

Settlement

In answer to this representation, I assured them of protection ; and after some discussions it was agreed that they should be paid 20,000 Rupees in money, exclusive of whatever they had received to the southward of the Narbada, amounting to about 13,000 Rupees. They had a varat on the ransom of Fatesing from Ahmed Khan, which was likewise to be deducted.

The principal Pathan chiefs gave me a writing acknowledging the above payments, professing their satisfaction, and engaging to quit the Company's and the Gaikwad's territories without committing any damage.

At the request of the Pathans I retained in my possession the bills for the payment of Fatesing's ransom, until these arrangements were concluded.

On the 5th instant I transmitted the bills to the agent for the Hon'ble Company's affairs at Surat. Their amount will be discharged at Songarh, when the hostages, which Fatesing left with the Shah Ahmed Khan, are released, and the Pathans have retired from Gujarat.

It was at first proposed that Jamal Khan should remain at Baroda until this transaction was finished ; but, although that person consented to the measure, I deemed it proper to depart from it, as the whole body of Pathans insisted on continuing with their chief.

It was thought a sufficient security that the ransom money should not be paid until the terms were fulfilled. A few horse and some of the sarkar's jasad accompany the Pathans to the Gaikwad frontier. They have also been furnished with passports from the Gaikwad Government and in the name of the Hon'ble Company. I have also apprised the civil authority at Surat of their march as well as Colonel Murray, in order that the commanding officer in the athavisi may attend to their motions.

Raising money

It remains, Hon'ble Sir, to explain in what manner the sums of money expended on this occasion have been furnished, and on what funds they have been raised.

The ransom money was raised by the expedient of a loan ; and as several were desirous of showing their devotion to Fatesing, it was soon filled up.

The enclosure, marked in the margin, will explain more particularly what relates to this subject ; and as the provision for the repayment is good, I am not apprehensive of any difficulty on this head.

I found myself under the necessity of borrowing the sum of 21,000 Rupees in the Company's name, and of agreeing to repay the lender in the space of six months, without any specific security. This arose from the necessity of paying the money without delay, and the

want of immediate security that could be relied on. I was therefore obliged to leave the recovery of this sum to contingencies ; but I hope, before the time for the repayment of it arrives, that some means will occur for discharging it.

That the Pathans have departed from Baroda, Hon'ble Sir, perfectly satisfied, I cannot venture to assert ; but I can safely affirm that everything has been done to conciliate their minds and to impress them with a favourable opinion of English generosity and justice. They were evidently at first deluded by false hopes and indeed led to Baroda by such extravagant expectations that must have arisen from a great share of credulity or of ignorance. I took an early opportunity of undeceiving them and of explaining their real situation. During the period that they remained here, I endeavoured to do them every kind of good office in my power with the Gaikwad Government and paid them myself such attention as would be most gratifying to men of their way of thinking. *Delusion*

Notwithstanding these precautions, a serious event had nearly attended the conclusion of this affairs. On the 15th the two chiefs, Zamal Khan and Zenghis Khan, after having passed the night at the Residency, returned in the morning to their camp with a design of arranging for the march and of taking their leave next day. On arriving at his tent Jamal Khan was attacked by some of his own people and severely wounded. The cause of the attack¹ appears to have been a suspicion that he had received more money than he had given an account of, and defrauded them of their share of wages. This suspicion probably arose from the frequent visits of the chiefs to the Residency, and the attention with which I had directed them to be treated. Whatever might have been the motives for the commotion, it was nearly the cause of a civil war amongst the Pathans, who took up arms, some of them in defence of their chief, and others to maintain their own rights which they supposed had been violated. By the timely interference of some disinterested persons the tumult was appeased before night, and with the loss only of the life of one man, who had first drawn his sword on Jamal Khan. I have enclosed a minute of this transaction, as related by the son of Jamal Khan, who was dispatched by his father to give me information of the commotion. *Tumult*

On the 16th, Jamal and Zenghis, although the former was much wounded, called on me and took their leave. The 19th was fixed for the departure ; and besides the customary presents, I gave them privately a bill on Songarh for 1,000 Rupees ; which, small as the sum may appear, I had reason to think would prove an acceptable and necessary assistance to their families. They received with thanks and many expressions of gratitude. This sum is included in the loan of 21,000 Rupees.

P.S.—I beg leave to mention some circumstances which have been omitted in the foregoing narrative. *Difficulties*

On the 19th the Pathan chiefs came to the Residency, and on various pleas requested that their march might be delayed that day.

¹ For a more likely explanation of this attack on Jamal Khan, see entry of 30th November, enclosure No. 12. *Bojraj's deposition*, about the Khan's refusal to take part in the conspiracy against the Baroda Administration.

Having, although with some reluctance, acceded to this request, the same chiefs, Jamal and Zenghis, returned, on the 20th and declared that neither of them could accompany their people, but at the imminent risk of their lives. Wherefore they proposed to leave them and proceed with a few of their family attendants to their native countries, the former to Hindustan by the way of Patan, and the latter to Cabul by the way of Sind. I was obliged on this occasion to peremptorily order that the chiefs should accompany their men, and at last it was agreed that Zenghis should perform this service, but that Jamal should remain behind with a few attendants.

I have enclosed a translate of the letters which they separately and jointly addressed to me on this subject, and I have every reason to conclude from the past conduct of these men that they will perform their engagements.

No. 1. Joint letter from Jamal Khan and Zenghis Khan to Major Walker, dated 14th October.

Promise We, who have claims for services upon Fatesingrao Gaikwad, agree to abide by whatsoever you shall decide and to receive whatsoever you will cause to be given to us.

No. 2. Separate letters from Jamal Khan and Zenghis Khan to Major Walker, dated Baroda, 19th November.

Depart 1st *Jamal Khan* : I will make the lascar (body of Pathans) march to-morrow ; and as these people have shown violence to my person, I propose remaining behind at this place with my family and attendants, not exceeding the number of fifteen, and shall be guided in my future conduct by your orders.

2nd *Zenghis Khan* : I will to-morrow move with the lascar and carry them near to Songarh, whence it is my wish and intention to leave them, and carrying eight or ten men with me embark at Surat for my own country.

3rd *Both* : What is written above we both promise to perform.

No. 3. Pathans' passport.

Passport This is to certify that Jamal Khan and Zenghis Khan are chief officers of the Pathans, who accompanied Fatesing from the place of his captivity to Baroda, where they have conducted themselves very becomingly, and whence they have permission to depart and pass, in a peaceable manner and unmolested, through the Company's territories from Gujarat to the Deccan by the way of Songarh.

No. 4. Report of the tumult among the Pathans.

Jamal wounded It was agreed that the Pathan chiefs should have their audience of leave to-morrow; and after breakfasting this morning with my munshi they went back to their own camp. They had not been gone more than two hours when Jamal Khan's son came back with the following report : that Jamal Khan had scarcely arrived at his tent before he was attacked by his people that stabbed him in the side and wounded him with sabres in several places. One of the mutineers was killed by a party

that interfered in his defence. The cause of this disorder proceeded from a suspicion that Jamal Khan had not given a fair account of the moneys he has received.

I desired him to inform the rest of the chiefs and to intimate to the people that I shall receive and dismiss the former, if they please, to-morrow with honour ; but that they cannot remain longer within the Gaikwad States. By a second messenger from Zenghis Khan the tumult was reported to be quieted, and it does not appear that Jamal Khan is dangerously wounded.

Section B : BARODA CONSPIRACY

The Baroda conspiracy, which was nipped in the bud shortly after Fatesingrao's return; was neither planned nor connived at by the presumptive heir to the masnad. It originated with Takhatabai, the third wife of Anandrao Gaikwad. Her jealousy was in the first instance roused when Fatesingrao was made to take up his abode in the house of Gahenabai, the widow of Govindrao Gaikwad. Takhatabai considered herself slighted and feared lest her influence should thereby be impaired. Hence she made up her mind to overthrow the existing Administration as the best means firmly to secure her own interests.

Incidentally Takhatabai's conspiracy gives us an insight into the character of the then ruling Gaikwad, Anandrao.

DOCUMENTS.

Baroda, 30th November, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)
Alexander Walker to Jonathan Duncan.

1803

1. As you are acquainted with the revolutions that have attended this Government, and the disposition of the parties to intrigue and rebellion, you will not be surprised that the latent principles of disaffection have made their appearance. After the expulsion of the Arabs the spirit of discontent was checked, and although it was well known that some people nourished resentment in secret, they were so guarded in their conduct or were so closely connected with the Raja's family that they either afforded no justifiable opportunity for laying hold of their persons, or they were protected by their connection. *Conspiracy*

The reduction of the contingent forces at Baroda and the large detachment of the Gaikwad troops, which was preparing to depart under the Diwan's brother, seem to have revived the hopes of the discontented and to have encouraged them to renew the attempts to disturb or overthrow the present Government. The concourse of military adventurers, who had arrived with Fatesing, together with others of that description, whom the expectation of service had led to Baroda, formed a considerable body of men disappointed in their views and ready to engage in any enterprise that promised a subsistence.

These with the local interests, which some of the parties possess in Gujarat, were the materials with which the conspirators proposed to accomplish their object, and on which they founded hopes of success.

2. For some time vague rumours of a plot had been in circulation, and Sitaram had appointed people to watch the persons who were suspected ; but it was not until the 18th instant that the first authentic intelligence of their secret cabals was obtained by the Diwan and reported by him to me. From the character of the Parekhs, named in this information, and of their Mistress, I was decidedly of opinion that they should be apprehended. This advice, which I had in respect to the former given to the late Raoba, appeared to me the most proper on this occasion ; but it was a task of great difficulty and delicacy to accuse the most favoured of Anandrao's wives, whose influence over her husband was almost unbounded, and to seize her confidential servants, whom it would be probably necessary to drag by force from her house. These considerations had withheld Raoba, although well convinced of their guilt, from proceeding to extremities against them ; and from the same motives Sitaram was desirous of obtaining full proofs of their offence, before he exhibited them as public criminals. Sitaram was also desirous of effecting their seizure on other grounds than the present, and of doing this without openly affecting the credit of the Mistress, the extent of whose guilt was at this time completely ascertained.

3. As the conduct of the Pathans, thought it hitherto been distinguished by propriety of behaviour and a great show of apparent candour, I mistrusted the information respecting them ; and although they might have been tampered with, and had even listened to proposals from the conspirators, I thought that the penetration of their chiefs would prevent them from engaging in so ruinous an enterprise. It is true that they had prolonged their departure far beyond the period, which they had, by a solemn writing executed to me, fixed on for their march ; but this delay seemed accounted for by the difficulty they had in satisfying the claims of their people for wages and the state of insubordination which they were latterly in.

4. The immediate effect, however, resulting from the representation of the Diwan to me, was a peremptory order to the Pathans to march to Songarh, as had been agreed to ; and Zenghis Khan accordingly did so on the third day after receiving my intimation to depart with his followers. This prompt obedience in the Pathans rather increased my good opinion of them ; and I confess I was very unwilling to believe that they had entered into the treacherous plan that was imputed to them. But the reports that I received of some of them deserting at Baroda and on the road required at least that measures should be taken to prevent them remaining in the country. It has since appeared that very few of the Pathans marched with their chief to the southward. Measures were accordingly pursued to trace those who had thus separated themselves from their leader and to penetrate to the bottom of the plot.

5. A week had now passed with tranquillity since the first information of the combination to disturb the Government. On the 26th the Diwan and Madhavrao Tatya, the next member of the Administration, communicated to me more decisive intelligence, which

left no room to doubt the existence of a regular design against the Administration, and there was no time to be lost in crushing the plot.

In conjunction with the Diwan I determined to pursue immediate *Measures* and strong measures for the apprehension of the suspected persons and for the expulsion of the petty Pathan jamadars or other military adventurers from the city of Baroda and the suburbs. The march of the Diwanji, who had already proceeded a little way, was suspended ; and I addressed the officer commanding at the Cantonment, submitting to him a plan for securing the objects at issue.

6. According to this plan a reinforcement of sepoys marched into the fort, and the commanding positions were occupied without disturbance or noise. The difficulty of apprehending people so closely connected with the Raja and the desire, if possible, of avoiding a recourse to actual violence, made me, as it was the wish also of Sitaram, confine our measures during the night to those of a preservative nature. Two of the conspirators only were apprehended, and guards of our troops were placed at the doors of Takhatabai's house, in which some of the principals had taken refuge.

7. In the morning, as soon as we could have a regular communication with the Raja, I caused all the evidences of the conspiracy to be laid before him. At this intelligence he appeared struck with considerable alarm and entreated that I would protect him against his enemies. When he was apprised how near they were to his own person, and that respect for him prevented their punishment, he furnished me with a formal writing, removing that objection, and empowering me to proceed against the parties as might appear most expedient.

8. After receiving this authority the first step adopted was to surround Hanmantrao's paga ; and as the bargirs fled, the horses were secured without opposition. I thought the disbanding or breaking of this paga an object of considerable importance, as by having been long quartered about the Raja's palace they had acquired a habit of intrigue and had been concerned in all the plots that have happened during his reign. They were also particularly under the influence of Takhatabai and comprised part of the means, which she depended on for executing her present designs. This paga was formerly leagued with the Arabs, and was hostile to the late as well as the present Diwan.

9. The apprehension of Takhatabai was still an object of great delicacy, and I wished it to be effected without proceeding to a struggle with a woman of her rank. After a parley of many hours she at last submitted to be conveyed in a palanquin to a house in the suburbs near the Diwan's, which had been prepared for her reception. She now resides in the apartments, where she is treated with the respect due to her situation and with as much indulgence as is consistent with the security of her person.

10. The apprehension of all the principal conspirators followed that of their Mistress, and this service was accomplished without alarming, I firmly believe, a single innocent inhabitant of the town. The attention of Captain Urquhart to preserve the public tranquillity and the whole of his conduct on this occasion deserves my most cordial commendation. I beg leave to enclose extracts from his notes to me,

at different periods, of the service, which exhibit clearly the intimacy and connivance between Takhtatabai and the parekhs.

Takhtatabai 12. It is unquestionable that the whole originated in this woman's
guilty spirit and ambition, that everything was conducted under her direction, that she engaged the conspirators and supported them by her private funds. It cannot be denied that she found means to impose on the easy nature and simplicity of the Raja, and by abusing her influence probably obtained his acquiescence to measures, the real tendency and nature of which were artfully concealed from him.

13. I was in hopes that Takhtatabai might have been prevailed upon, herself, to discover the truth ; but she has hitherto firmly declined to make any disclosure. On searching her house the only proofs that were detected of her guilt consisted of a correspondence which she had maintained with the Arabs and Kanhoji, when the latter made his escape from Ranpur, and the receipt from Zenghis Khan.

The correspondence with Kanhoji was a fact before ascertained ; and as it is of so old a date, and has been allowed to lie over so long, it may be inexpedient to bring it as a fresh matter of accusation against her.

Conclusion 14. It is established that a dangerous design was on foot, which has been defeated by a timely discovery. Although the particular intentions of the parties may not be completely disclosed, there is no room to doubt but that they meant to subvert the Administration.

The effect of his unsuccessful attempt will have a tendency, I hope, rather to increase our power and to strengthen the present Government. The experience, which we have on this and other occasions had, of the facility of the Raja's temper, induces me to recommend that we should augment as much as possible the agency about his person. This good effect has resulted from the present proceedings that they have afforded an opportunity of removing from His Highness's presence a discontented party, who were always at hand to instil into him the worst advice. It would be desirable to introduce in their stead confidential men, who may watch the transactions of the palace, guard against the intrigues, which there is still reason to expect some of the Ranis will agitate, and by ingratiating themselves with the Raja obtain possession of his mind ; which will be the best security against the bad council of these females.

No. 1. Sitaram Raoji's information, dated Baroda, 18th November, 1803.

The Diwan Sitaram Raoji has sent a confidential person to relate the following circumstances to the Resident, which have been surmised some days.

The plot Having suspicions that Takhtatabai, a favourite wife of the Raja, in concert with Khushal Patwa, her parekh or man of business, and Ishwar Parekh, agent of the paga or troop of the late Hanmantrao, natural son of the Raja, were endeavouring to poison the mind of the Raja, the Diwan desired a khidmatgar of the late Raoba, who lives in the vicinity of the palace to be attentive to discover the drift of their deliberations ; and he has this day delivered to Bhimrao Bandoji, the husband of Raoba's sister, that they design after the departure of the Diwanji Sakharan to Godhra, when there will scarcely be any troops of the Gaikwad Government or of the English at Baroda, to invite Major

Walker and Sitaram to the palace, and have the Pathans prepared to seize their persons.

The motives that agitate them and the chief reasons, which make the Diwan credit their evil intention, are: From the moment that Fatesing has been placed in the house of Gahenabai (widow of Govindrao) Takhatabai has manifested great uneasiness to think that a higher honour should be conferred on the old Rani, and nourishes a jealousy in the mind of the Maharaja, which seeks vengeance against the Diwan.

The reason he conceived the Pathans are ready to enter into their plot is their proneness to be so engaged, and especially as an opportunity will offer, when the Diwanji and almost all the English troops shall have departed from this station, and as they are still encamped here ten days after their demands were answered, and after they had agreed to go as directed. On receipt of the above information the Resident reminded the Diwan of his repeated advices to him and to his predecessor, Raoba, to remove Khushal and Ishwar Parekh from the person of the Raja, and now strongly solicited him to concert measures immediately for securing them.

The Diwan returned his assurances of adopting proper measures towards the parekhs; at the same time he was decidedly of opinion that the presence of the Pathans alone supported to a degree that admitted of apprehensions, the hostile designs of the party as alleged above. He also owned that he had forborne to treat the parekhs as they deserved out of delicacy to the Raja.

No. 2. Information from Sitaram and Tatya, dated 26th November, 1803. Zenghis

The day before yesterday Saïd Jaffir, one of the officers that came with the Pathans, having quitted them, has informed me that Zenghis Khan was conspiring against me, and had received Rupees 7,000 before his departure, a few days ago, from Takhatabai.

Sitaram and Tatya then represented the propriety of postponing the departure of the young Diwanji and his detachment.

No. 3. Letter from Alexander Walker to Major Grummont, dated Baroda, 26th November.

The conspiracy, of which I gave you notice some days ago, is now *Arrest* disclosed by evidence which it would be imprudent to disregard; and it becomes necessary to secure the persons of the disaffected immediately. At five o'clock this evening the gates of the fort will be shut, and I would propose that they should be occupied by our people in the following proportions.

At the palace : rank and file :	60
At the Leheripura Gate : rank and file :	50
At the Champaner Gate : rank and file :	30
At the Pani Gate : rank and file :	30
At the Burhanpur Gate : rank and file :	30
At the palace Chabutarah : rank and file :	20

Rank and file : 220

The Diwan's guard and mine will take care of the suburbs ; but, exclusive of this, it would be necessary to have about 300 rank and file; either within the fort, or ready to support the operations there.

The party in opposition is not aware that its practices are detected, and we may hope by prompt and vigorous measures to take them unprepared. Their partisans consist of some discharged jamadars and a number of idle persons, who have come at different times to Baroda in search of service, in which they have been disappointed.

P.S.—It appears more advisable not to occupy the gates until 8 o'clock, when we may expect the conspirators to be off their guard, and also at that hour we may cause less suspicion. The people engaged in this plot are supposed to be about 800, who are disposed in different places, excepting 100 and 6 jamadars who have quartered themselves, in Guphurji's paga, which is at present empty.

No. 4. Letter from Captain Urquhart to Major Walker.

Success 26th November : I have been round, and given the necessary orders, and have posted the guard.

The Raja is asleep ; just as I entered the palace gate, Khushal Parekh went into Takhtatabai's house. I have secured every entrance to her house, and have at the Shastri's desire sent to the shroff. She denied his being in the house and has sent to speak with me.

27th November, half past five, a.m. : I have been up the whole of the night, keeping a look-out, and am happy to inform you all has been quiet. The Raja has not been out. As soon as he makes his appearance, I will speak to him, agreeable to your desire of last night. The shroff is still in Takhtatabai's house ; and she told me, if I had anything to say to him, she would inform him.

I have given a circular order to the officers of the different gates to be very vigilant and ready at a moment's warning and have told them to let only such people pass and repass as the karkun may direct ; and should any unusual crowd appear, to shut the gate instantly, call in the guard, and report the circumstance to me.

No. 5. Orders from Anandrao Gaikwad to Major Walker.

Powers Whereas Khushal Parekh and Ishwar Parekh, inhabitants of Baroda, have, in conjunction with Takhtatabai or Darun-i-Mahal tistra (the third wife of the Raja) and the people of the paga of the late Hanmantrao Gaikwad, abstracted money from the treasury and devised mischief against the State, I have delivered over to you [*Major Walker*] all the aforesaid, and desire that, on sight of this writing, you take them into custody, and recover, and restore to the sarkar such property as they have carried off.

No. 6. Extract of a note from Captain Urquhart to Major Walker.

Anandrao 27th November : I have seen the Raja and mentioned every circumstance as you told me ; he was much astonished at the conspiracy, and said he would not venture out until all the Pathans were driven away, and that he would send for Takhtatabai and all his people and interrogate them, and desired me to say that, if the shroff was in her house, he would send him to you.

No. 7. Extract of a note from Captain Urquhart to Major Walker.

27th November : I am truly happy we have succeeded so much to *Anand Rao* your wishes, and I shall feel gratification in waiting, let the length of time be what it may, to effect a good purpose. I have not left the Raja half an hour of the day, nor do I mean to leave him a minute while he sits with me, which he seems much inclined to do.

27th November : I have the pleasure to send you Kushal Parekh, *Parekh* who has been taken and brought to me by the bearer of this letter, going into Hanmantrao's paga ; and he offered him 200 Rupees to release him. I am now with the Raja, where I have been the whole evening.

28th November : The Shastri and I have been to Takhtabai's *Takhtabai* house, and searched it, where we found a number of things, the principal of which are a correspondence between her and Kanhoji and one between her and the Pathan, a handsome case and a gold cummerband set with diamonds with a few other silver things, all of which are given to the Raja. The Shastri carries the papers to you. The Raja is in great spirits.

No. 8. Bojraj's deposition, dated 27th November, 1803.

Jamal Khan declared his disapproval of these designs to *Zenghis Jamal* Khan, who asked Jamal to accept of 2,000 Rupees, which he refused ; and in consequence of Jamal Khan not entering into their views, all the jamadars meditated malice against him ; and on this account it was that Kalipha with others and Nasir (who suffered for it) raised their swords and wounded Jamal in several places.

No. 9. Zenghis Khan's receipt to Takhtabai.

We have entered into your service and will perform your orders *Zenghis* honourably and faithfully. The Rupees 325, which have now been given, have reached us. Why write much ?

N.B.—The original of the above translation was taken out of Takhtabai's house and found amongst her papers.

Bombay, 8th December, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 151)

1803

Jonathan Duncan to Edward Galley.

There being reason to believe that Zenghis Khan, one of the sardars *Zenghis* of the Pathans that lately accompanied the young Gaikwad Raja Fatesing and his mother from Songarh to Baroda, had been there plotting a conspiracy against the British interests, and may since have repaired with other of his countrymen and adherents to Surat, you are therefore required to communicate confidentially on this subject with the Magistrate to the end that you and he may endeavour discreetly to discover whether the said Zenghis Khan or Jamal Khan (another of these Pathans' leaders) or any others of their sardars or followers be in Surat ; in which case the Magistrate is immediately to apprehend them ; and to deliver them over to you ; whereupon you are with the shortest delay to embark them under a suitable guard for this place, providing for them suitably on the passage.

1803 *Bombay, 11th December, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)*

James Grant to Alexander Walker.

We are at the same time fully sensible of the expediency of *Agency* establishing a respectable and confidential agency at the Raja's abode, such as may be at once personally agreeable to himself and command respect sufficient to guard the facility of his temper from being misled to his own evident prejudice by the machinations and evil counsels of the designing and interested. These means of salutary precautions you are accordingly authorised to concert with Sitaram and to carry them as soon as possible into full effect, advising us hereafter of the particulars as well as of the expense that may thence prove necessary.

1803 *Baroda, 18th December, 1803 (1803, P. D. 43/52)*

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

Takhatabai Since my address of the 30th ultimo the principal persons who were engaged in the late conspiracy have been conveyed to the Fort of Sankheda.

It was proposed to secure Takhatabai by confining her also in one of the neighbouring forts, or to send her back to her family, reduced to a private situation; but it was impossible to overcome the Raja's attachment, and neither of these measures has been pursued.

The accompanying Minute of proceedings will inform the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of the course which has been adopted with respect to this lady.

No. 1. Alexander Walker's Minute.

Takhatabai Although the Raja had granted full authority to proceed against Takhatabai, as the case might require, so soon as his first fears had subsided, he became extremely solicitous for her return. On the 29th ultimo, which was the second day of her absence, he discovered symptoms of the greatest uneasiness, and fell into a state of deep dejection. He abstained from his usual food, and laid aside his turban as in a case of mourning or great calamity.

These circumstances being reported to the Resident, he paid the Raja a visit at the palace on the 4th instant, expecting to engage his attention with other affairs, and to amuse his mind by innocent expedients which had hitherto generally succeeded. These however all failed on this occasion, and with a considerable share of firmness and sensibility he said that he was indifferent whether Fatesing possessed the masnad or not, that all he wished was a peaceable retreat with his family, that the Company had protected his father, and he placed the fullest confidence that their conduct would be regulated in the same way towards him, and that at present all his hopes rested on the Resident, whose assistance he implored.

After the trial of a few days further, finding that the Raja could be no otherwise consoled, the Resident and the Diwan thought it most prudent to comply with his wishes, adopting the best measures of security for the future that the case would admit.

By this time also Takhatabai had leisure for reflection; and having confessed the error she had fallen into, this was considered as one step towards the expiation of her offence. She signed a writing binding

herself under severe penalties to observe a correct line of conduct in future, and gave one of the most respectable Bhats as security for her good behaviour. She took an oath at the feet of a Brahman, formally performing the ceremony of delivering a tulsi flower or leaf in writing of her solemn engagement.

In the evening of the 10th instant Takhatabai paid the family of the Diwan a visit, and was afterwards conveyed to the palace at her own request in the Resident's palanquin.

Whether these friendly dispositions of Takhatabai are sincere or not, it is not likely that she will again be able to form a party, or that she will attempt designs from which she has escaped with so much hazard.

She is also sensible that it was by our exertion that she has been defeated in her schemes, it is also owing to us that she has recovered her freedom; but, lest she should forget these circumstances, it will be necessary to watch her conduct, and with this precaution there is not much danger to be apprehended from her intrigues.

No. 2. Dialogue between Takhatabai and Shastri on Tuesday.

Bai : Shastri Baba, when shall my lord and I meet ? Since our *Interview* separation I have not taken food, nor has my lord, who has thrown his turban aside and given himself to sorrow. What advantage can there appear in this to you ?

Shastri : Bai Saheba, I am a humble being, and this does not avail me. But, if now you will tell me the truth, I will report to my master and endeavour to obtain your freedom.

Bai : What is desired ?

Shastri : You must plainly disclose the transactions lately past ; again you must give the security of some person possessed of two lakhs of Rupees.

Bai : How can a woman find a money security against inimical intrigues, who has been once accused of them ?

Shastri : What security then will you give ?

Bai : I will give that of a Bhat.

Shastri : What can a poor Bhat do, if you, Bai, should unfortunately fall again amid the foes ?

Bai : It is true in a temporal light the Bhats are poor. But, if I failed in my engagements, a Bhat would bring a thousand of his order and shed their blood before my face, cursing and upbraiding ; which much I would fear. Therefore this security may be taken with the fullest trust, and none shall ever draw me into evil designs.

Shastri : A Bhat has nothing. How can you offer such security ?

Bai : All over Gujarat the Bhats stand securities for lakhs of rupees, do they not ? And the object, for which he pledges himself, is fulfilled from the fear that he else would shed his blood ; so you must take Bhat jamin.

Shastri : Will you have all your attendants, that are in restraint, released ?

Bai : I would only wish the female who dresses my victuals to be released, and leave the rest at your pleasure.

Shastri : Will not you beg for more of them ?

Bai : I will not.

Shastri : You must make a solemn vow in the meantime and give a tulsi patra (or formal delivery of a leaf or leaves of the tulsi plant) into the hands of my master and of Sitaram Bapu, renouncing your former ways, and praying their forgiveness, with a promise that you will timely apprise them of any bad counsel being conveyed to the ears of the Raja.

Bai : All that I promise to perform.

Shastri : I already know all that has passed lately, but it is proper that you should confess everything by your own mouth ; therefore tell me all the truth.

Bai : In front of the palace is the bungalow of Sayaji Maharaja. There the new wife of Revabai's brother, Daulatrao, resides; and there His Highness, after the arrival of Fatesing, used to meet Daulatrao and Danishwar Jani. The three deliberated. Fifteen days after His Highness said to me : "I am going to take 500 or 100 Pathans into my service." I asked the Maharaja, "What occasion have you for their services?" He answered, "What sort of a Raja am I without a single soul coming near me ! I choose to entertain them." The names of the Pathans I am not acquainted with. But two or three of their jamadars and karkuns were in the habit of coming to Sayaji's bungalow, and conferring with the Maharaja, from whom they obtained a letter bearing the seals. Fifteen days after they had obtained this letter, His Highness, having been importuned for wages by these Pathans, came to me, and demanded Rupees 5,000, which Danishwar Jani had informed him of my having received from the funds of a village that I had disposed of through the Patel, on the understanding that the dumali-gaons were all to be attached. I denied having any money; but the Maharaja contradicted me, and pointed to the proceeds of my village. I then asked how I should be repaid? The Maharaja made answer : "I have been with the Major, and settled for a varat on Bidygam for seven thousand Rupees, and have got his word that Fatesingrao shall not mount the masnad, nor anyone but myself. Therefore give me 5,000 Rupees now ; and when my 7,000 Rupees arrive, I will repay you. Thereupon Khushal Parekh, my karbari or agent, paid Rupees 5,000 to those whom Danishwar Jani desired.

Shastri : You have forgotten the promise you made through Khushal Parekh to my master and his assurances.

Bai : I remember it well, but this transaction was a doing of my husband ; how could I proclaim it ?

Shastri : In this inimical transaction was anything intended against the Major ?

Bai : (Putting her hand on his feet) I now declare that nothing was intended against your master.

Shastri : Shame perhaps prevents you saying before me whatever you meditated against my Master.

Bai : Were it so, why would His Highness have waited on the Major and submitted to ask his aid and assurances, as he told me he had done ?

Shastri : Did Kushaba Appa, the grandson of Naro Ganesh, in the course of this business visit you, or did Ishwar Parekh ?

Bai : Once he came, but the Maharaja threatened to take a nazranah of Rupees 5,000 from him, and he never returned. Ishwar Parekh is quite ignorant of this business.

No. 3. *Promise made by Takhatabai to Major Walker, dated 9th December, 1803.*

I did not give you warning of the inimical designs of the Pathans *Promise* in Baroda, which I was acquainted with, but in future, if any person give bad counsel to the Raja, I will immediately give you warning.

If I deviate from this agreement, I acknowledge myself a bad woman, and you may then treat me as you please ; but acting right I shall expect your protection.

To this Vishram Bharat or Bhat of Baroda is jamin or guarantee, who will answer for the due fulfilment hereof.

Baroda, 20th December, 1803 (1803, P. D. 43/52)
Alexander Walker to Jonathan Duncan.

1803

In consulting with Sitaram on the agency which it would be advisable *Agency* to place about the Raja's person, the Diwan confessed himself very much at a loss in proposing any means for fixing the mind of Anandrao ; but seemed to think that a control or council, established in the name of the Company, would have more influence than one derived from any other source. It was thought more advisable to try both expedients, and to appoint confidential people on the part of the Company as well as of the Administration to reside constantly at the palace.

I have satisfied the Raja that these measures will be for his own advantage, and that by some of my people remaining with him I shall more readily become acquainted with his wishes, and be more able to afford him relief.

I have occasionally employed Vishwanath Bhunji to transact affairs with His Highness, and he expressed a predilection in his favour. I was glad to improve this good opinion ; and as this person, who is also capable of discharging any trust required of him, appeared so agreeable to the Raja, I have nominated Vishwanath with two karkuns to remain with him.

The expense attending this arrangement I shall have the honour to report, as soon as I can determine it exactly.

Bombay, 26th December, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 153)
Miguel de Souza to Jonathan Duncan.

1803

At your request I went and saw Zenghis Khan again to-day and made the strictest inquiry on the subject of the intended plot at Baroda. *Zenghis Khan*

I began to mention and to show how impeached he stood by the deposition of several evidences examined at Baroda, and told him about the receipt of 325 Rupees. He then said that he did not mean more than return to his country by the way of Surat, and that therefore he had left Baroda with six men only ; and the Resident was aware of this his intention, as he disclosed it to him ; but since those, who were concerned in the plot, have taken the advantage of his absence to lay the blame upon him, that he would disclose everything he knows, which was not his intention.

That some time after their arrival at Baroda, one Alam Khan, one of their own Pathans, instigated by a Sindhi jamadar in the service of the Gaikwad, whose name he does not recollect, but believes to be Amin, proposed to Jamal Khan a plan of entering in the service of the Gaikwad; that this was communicated to him by Jamal Khan, whom he told that he did not like the plan, and that the best for them would be to get all their accounts settled and to retire with all their people to the place they came from. In this situation they continued for some time, until their account was compounded for twenty thousand Rupees, and the same paid to them. In this interval Alam Khan, the Sindhi above-mentioned, with Danishwar and his own Diwan, Balaji Pant, frequently called upon him with a view to prevail on him to enter the Gaikwad's service, as to which he hesitated, till at last they told him that Anyaba or Anandrao Gaikwad wished to see him; upon which he went to his house in the fort, where he saw Anandrao Gaikwad, who told him that he wished to entertain him and his people in his service. He told the Gaikwad that he had no objection, and that he might be assured he would serve him faithfully, and saying so, he took his leave, and returned to the place of his encampment. Danishwar, Alam Khan, the Sindhi above-mentioned, and several other people, whose names he does not know, were negotiating this business; and all at once Danishwar came and told him the Raja wanted to see him. He accordingly went to the Raja, and they carried him to another house, where he saw the Raja and his wife with several attendants; and that most of these were those who used to come to him on the part of the Raja. The Raja said that, if he came into his service, he would put him in the charge of the two gates that were guarded by Sitaram's people, to which he replied: "Very well." The Diwan and other people were left there to draw the agreement, and he returned to his encampment. On being asked whether Takhtabai said anything or made any proposals to him, he said she was there, but he did not recollect hearing anything from her. On the 2nd or 3rd day his wakil or Diwan with Danishwar brought about 2,600 or 2,700 Rupees; but whether this was from the Raja or his wife, he cannot say. He received the amount, and gave Alam Khan 1,300 Rupees; and the rest, he says, was divided by his Diwan, and others amongst his and Jamal Khan's Pathans; and whether the above-mentioned men of business received any more money, and from whom, he cannot say; and having asked him about the letter to Anandrao Gaikwad acknowledging the receipt of 325 Rupees, he says, that he never wrote any, nor did he receive any more money than the above sum of 2,600 or 2,700 Rupees; but that his Diwan and others, who had the management of the whole business, may have written the letter and received the money in his name.

That while this negotiation was going on, he had an opportunity of consulting one of his confidential friends, who dissuaded him from accepting the service of Anandrao Gaikwad, and told him that, although he was the Raja, still he had not the means of paying, which induced him (Zenghis) to send for the people, who were negotiating this business, the next morning, and to tell them he did not choose to have anything to do with Anandrao Gaikwad or his service, and prevented their entering into any agreement with him on his account; and that he was going to

Surat with the view of returning from thence to his country. That he then called upon the Resident, and acquainted him that all his people had left him, and that he was going with six of his Pathans, and that his intention was to go to Surat, and from thence to his country. The Resident told him not to mind his people, and directed him to quit the country immediately and gave him a passport.

That accordingly he left Baroda with six of his Pathans, and came to Makarpura ; his Diwan, Balaji Pant, and Kallu Khan, his Bakhshi, accompanying him.

The next day he came to Miyagam, and while there Danishwar came with Alam Khan and a Sindhi, the dafedar of Amin, the Sindhi officer of the Gaikwad, and a Mogul, called Mir Beg, and insisted upon his going back, which he refused. Danishwar then insisted upon his returning the money. At this he said before all the people, who were present, that out of the money he brought 1,300 Rupees were taken by Alam Khan, and the remainder was divided amongst his, and Jamal Khan's Pathans ; that they were all at Baroda, and that they might take the same from them, if they chose, and sent his Diwan and Bakhshi, the said Balaji Pant, and Kallu Khan with Danishwar and others to settle their account ; and he continued his journey to Surat, where on his arrival he delivered the passport to Mr. Crow, and was there about a fortnight, endeavouring to sell his horses to pay for his expense and for his passage, when Mr. Crow informed him that the Governor wanted him, gave him a letter, and sent him to this place [*Surat*], where on his arrival he delivered the said letter to Mr. Halliday, and that here he is without knowing why and for what reason.

This, Hon'ble Sir, is the whole I have been able to learn from him, *Conclusion* and I have taken it down with every attention possible.

Bombay, 28th December, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)

1803

Orders to Simon Halliday, Superintendent of Police, Surat.

The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council is pleased to direct that you *Release* release Zenghis and the other Pathans now under your charge, restoring to them also their horses, etc., as lately arrived at Surat.

Baroda, 14th January, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M. 63A)

1803

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

Since her return to the palace Takhtabai has behaved with *Takhtabai* propriety and shown even a desire to assist the views of order and arrangement for the Raja's household. Every other practicable expedient will be adopted to secure Takhtabai's goodwill, and I hope not without success, as she is a woman of good sense and capable of estimating the advantage of securing herself under our protection.

I beg you will submit to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the *Expense* following account of expense, attending the agency established under his orders at the bhaddar, and which, I hope, will receive his approbation.

To Vishwanath Bhimji	Rs. 150
Hari Narayan	40
Rewadas Joitadas	30
Contingent charge for a house, or a hackery, etc.	30
	<hr/>
Rupees	250

But as this expense may vary and admit of modifications, it may be charged, if the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council prefers it, agreeably to the expense actually incurred.

1804 *Fort William, 17th January, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 155)*

N.B. Edmonstone to James Grant.

Praised The conduct of Sitaram in obtaining and reporting to the Resident at Baroda the authentic intelligence of the conspiracy is entitled to the approbation of the Governor-General-in-Council, and His Excellency-in-Council accordingly requests that the same may be communicated to Sitaram.

Section C : RANSOM EPISODE

After Fatesingrao's return to Baroda, the hostages who had remained with Shah Ahmed Khan, made their escape, and the ransom was not paid. 12,000 Rupees were illegally appropriated by a certain Dhirajmal; the remaining 38,000 reverted to the Baroda treasury. Thereupon Major Walker blamed Sitaram on the plea of having committed a breach of the national faith, which involved the good name of the Company. But, when Sitaram authorised Major Walker to pay the ransom, the latter did not do so. He contended that according to international law Shah Ahmed Khan had forfeited every claim to the money by allying himself with Holkar, who was at war with the English—international law coming before the national faith.

Incidentally the ransom episode and Sitaram's consequent departure for Chandod Karnali considerably lowered the Diwan in Major Walker's estimate. At the same time for any one who can read between the lines, it is by this time fairly obvious that Sitaram was only the nominal diwan of Baroda; the real diwan was Major Walker.

DOCUMENTS

1803 *Baroda, 7th December, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)*

Major Walker to Jonathan Duncan.

Ransom Shah Ahmed Khan had unluckily left Nandurbar before the bill for the payment of Fatesing's ransom arrived, and carried with him to Malwa the maternal cousin of his former prisoner as a security for the discharge of his demand. The bill has been lodged with Pirji of Nandurbar, the guru of Shah Ahmed, and the latter has been apprised that the money is at his disposal.

1803 *Bombay, 26th December, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 152)*

Miguel de Lima to Jonathan Duncan.

Not paid Having mentioned to him [*Zenghis Khan*] about the fifty thousand Rupees the amount of Fatesing's ransom sent by the Resident at

Baroda to the Agent of Government at Surat to be consigned to the officer commanding the troops at Songarh to be paid to Bajirao Gopal, when he might require it, he answered that both he and Jamal Khan were present when this transaction took place, that the bills were dispatched by Mangal Parekh, accompanied by Jamal Khan's Diwan, Bojraj's 15 Pathans and 4 horsemen of Shah Ahmed Khan, who had accompanied them ; that on their arrival at Songarh, they left there Mangal Parekh's man with two Pathans, and the rest went to Shah Ahmed Khan at a place called Dassanna, about 18 kos from Nandurbar, and reported what was passed, and how Fatesing's ransom was secured through the interference of the English ; on hearing which, Shah Ahmed Khan sent the hostages of Nandurbar to Patcha Miah, a fakir of great credit and wealth, with directions to receive the money and release them.

That on their arrival at Nandurbar, Patcha Miah kept the hostages and desired the Pathans, who accompanied them, to go and fetch the money ; and they accordingly did so ; but on their arrival at Songarh Bajirao Gopal, and Dhirajmal, Fatesing's Diwan, who had gone with them, said the money was at Surat, and recommended their going thither to receive the same. In consequence of which Dhirajmal, Bojraj with Mangal Parekh's man with five or six Pathans came to Surat, where they found the amount of Fatesing's ransom was not forthcoming. Everybody, sent upon this business, therefore returned to Baroda, while he, the said Zenghis Khan, was there ; and Patcha Miah, not having received the money, sent the hostages back to Shah Ahmed Khan at Dassanna ; and he, Zenghis Khan, is certain the amount has not been paid, as there were no steps taken, while he was at Baroda, to do so.

Baroda, 2nd March, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M. 63A)

1804

Memorandum of the fadnavis of Sitaram.

Memorandum drawn out by the fadnavis, at the dictation of the Gaikwad Diwan, of the proceedings for discharging the sum of 50,000 Rupees promised by Fatesingrao Gaikwad to Shah Ahmed Khan for his ransom, on which Fatesing aforesaid came to Baroda. Ransom

On the 2nd of October in the morning, encamped at Bhairanath (the name of a temple near Baroda), the Diwanji Saheb said to Jamal Khan and Zenghis Khan : "To-day His Highness is going into town; you must not therefore make any opposition to it ; after he shall have gone into town, whatever is justly due to you, will be given."

On so much being said, Jamal Khan and a Saïd, on behalf of both, together went and, introduced by Muhammad Fazl-ullah, had an interview with Major Walker, to whom they said : "If you will be security for the fulfilment of what the Diwanji says, we will do as directed." Major Walker answered them : "I shall be security for Rupees 20,000, if it appears by examining the accounts that so much is fairly due." With this assurance they both took their leave.

Thereafter Major Walker and Sitaram Diwan with all the world with them repaired to the tents of Fatesingrao, where Jamal Khan and Zenghis Khan with ten or twenty more Pathans were present. To them Muhammed Fazl-ullah, Ragu Vishwanath and Gangadhar

Shastri repeated the Major's assurance ; and having sent the Pathans to their own place in camp, the aswari entered the town.

The next day Bojraj, agent of the two Pathans, was sent away with four horse and eight men towards Shah Ahmed Khan, and promises were passed that the son of Balajirao Mama and the son of Palonji Parsi, who were left as hostages, should be brought to Songarh ; whereon the said sum of fifty thousand Rupees would be paid at Songarh.

Upon this, the raising of the said sum was resolved in the following way.

From Mangal Parekh	Rs.	10,000
From Samal Bechar	„	10,000
From Bhire's varat on the mulukgiri	„	10,000
From Parbhudas Parekh at the instance of Major Walker, for which Bhire's varat on the mulukgiri was charged	„	20,000
	Rupees	50,000

Of the above sum the said two Pathans had granted their acknowledgements of the receipts of money for their expenses to the amount of	Rs.	3,000
There then remained a balance to be paid of	„	47,000
which was provided for by remittances to Surat under the 28th October for	„	37,000
and another bill under the 9th October for	„	10,000

The aforesaid two Pathans held a writing of Shah Ahmed Khan, exhibiting how the amount of the ransom was to be appropriated.

It appeared by that writing that seven thousand Rupees stood assigned to these two Pathans.

From that voucher the amount of the ransom was payable to their hands ; but it seemed safest to take security for the restoration of the hostages before paying the money ; as security for the payment thereof Parbhudas was offered, but the Pathans could produce none for the performance of the other part.

In the interim a letter from Shah Ahmed Khan and a letter from the Virji, who was their mediator with that Pathan at Nandurbar, arrived to the address of Fatesingrao and his mother, adjuring them against advancing the value of an almond to either of the two Pathans (Jamal and Zenghis), and adding that, if they did, credit would not be given.

Thereon Bagwanbhai and Bajirao Gopal, vakils of Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur, being appointed to convey the cash, which has been sent to Surat, got it through Mr. Galley at their disposal in the shop of Khushalchand Kisandas.

At the same junction Bojraj arrived at Surat and told the news of Nandurbar, *viz.*, that Holkar's call had come to Shah Ahmad Khan, who accordingly had gone to Malwa, and thence it was not necessary to remit the money to Songarh.

After this Fatesingrao and his mother sent a pair of jasus for intelligence. They went by the way of Nandurbar to the camp of

Shah Ahmed Khan across the Narbada in the country of Malwa on the confines of Udaipur, near to which the army of Holkar lay. On their return and report, a hundi was procured from Surat on Holkar's camp for Rupees 40,000, and about the balance of Rupees 10,000 Sitaram Raoji, Diwan, wrote a letter to his acquaintance, a man of respectability in Holkar's camp and the eminent pupil of Vallabh Achari of Nathadwar, requesting that he would cause the two hostages to be enlarged and to be escorted to the Diwanji's detachment or to Nathadwar, and so on, in which case the balance of ten thousand Rupees would be given.

This has since been remitted, and Shah Ahmed Khan has now no claim on us, but it remains for him to release the hostages.

As to paying the fifty thousand Rupees through Jamal Khan and Zenghis Khan, they at one time promised to send that sum to Shah Ahmed Khan and return the hostages, Jamal Khan pledging himself and five men for the performance thereof; but at the last Jamal Khan would not agree to await the arrival of the hostages; wherefore it was meant to convey the hard cash from Surat to Songarh.

N.B.—The Pathans, who had charge of Fatesing, detained, when they released him, the son of his maternal uncle, Balajirao Mama, and the son of the Parsi Palonji as hostages for the payment of the ransom. Since the foregoing memorandum was written, the whole of the ransom money has been discharged, and the hostages have arrived in Gujarat. This transaction is therefore to be considered as finally closed, and the Gaikwad Government on the one part, and Holkar or Shah Ahmed Khan on the other, can have no demands or just ground of complaint on this account.

Baroda, 30th April, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M. 63A)

1804

Proceedings of the Baroda Residency.

It was reported to me this morning in a very secret manner that the ransom of Fatesing had not been discharged, and that the hostages had made their escape from Shah Ahmed Khan by running away. *Not paid*

I scarce believed this intelligence, although it came from a respectable quarter; but, as it was of an extraordinary nature, I sent a person to Sitaram to question him on the subject. This person returned not only with a confirmation of the intelligence, but justification of it by the Diwan. On making this discovery I sent my assistant, Mr. Carnac, to Sitaram in order to obtain from him a more formal recital of the circumstances, and to convey my surprise and disappointment at a transaction which could neither be justified by policy nor honour.

This Gentleman's report is annexed to the present minute.

I sent also for the hostages, who attended me, accompanied by Fatesing's uncle, who is the father of one of them.

Their relation was consistent and distinct. They stated that a wani and 5 or 6 jasus arrived with bills on the shroffs of Jodhpur for the amount of Fatesing's ransom; but that after some conversation with Shah Ahmed Khan, they perceived that it was his intention to receive the money without releasing the hostages. The wani communicated this intelligence to them, and advised them to obtain their freedom by flight as the only means of effecting it. The party accordingly took this advice and made their way to Gujarat without meeting any obstruction. *Hostages' account*

The wani however left them on the road and carried away 12,000 Rupees of the ransom by going off with bills to that amount.

I have annexed the relation of the Parsi hostage, who is the eldest of the two.

Besides the account given by Sitaram to Mr. Carnac, I have received the following information respecting this transaction.

Fatesing's mother instructed the hostages to effect their escape, if possible, and to avoid by every expedient paying the money to Shah Ahmed Khan. On their arrival at Baroda she obtained from them the bills, which remained in their hands and endeavoured to procure cash on them for her own use. Sitaram, on hearing of this design, went to the Bai, and after threatening her with my anger, induced her to give up the bills. These he has since sent to Surat to be cashed.

No. 1. Sitaram's share in the non-payment of Fatesingrao's ransom to Shah Ahmed Khan.

Sitaram Sitaram's conduct in this transaction is not defensible, and he
Ransom is ashamed of it.

Although the morals of his Government may allow him to employ the means, which he has had recourse to, he has no excuse for having neglected to report the circumstance to me. I sent an early message on the morning of the 1st instant to Sitaram to apprise him of the dangerous consequences that must always attend a breach of the national faith, and to urge him to adopt the speediest measures for repairing the neglect of it in this instance to Shah Ahmed Khan.

Sitaram replied, without expressing any opinion of the transaction, that he would act in conformity to my wishes, and said that he would direct the bills for 38,000 Rupees, which had been returned, to be put into my possession, but pleaded that it was not in his power to replace the 12,000 Rupees which the wani had stolen.

As I was very far from being satisfied with this transaction, it was my intention to have discussed it personally with Sitaram on the next day. This design however was frustrated by the departure of Sitaram to Chandod Karnali.

This sudden measure of the Diwan appears to have been taken in consultation with Hafizji, and was not imparted to his brother until on the eve of its execution. To me he sent information that he had taken this step in consequence of his inability to procure funds for defraying the expenses of the Government, and that he could not bear to hear the complaints that were made to him on that score; wherefore he had resolved to obtain relief to his mind and body by going to bathe in the sacred river of the Nerbada.

Sitaram's conduct is probably to be imputed to a mind unable to struggle with difficulties, and a disposition which is incapable of resisting the incessant solicitations of interested persons. He was afraid of their reproaches. This weakness of Sitaram and natural bias to be profuse had hitherto been covered or guarded against by the steady and vigorous superintendence of the Shastri; but the agency of this person had become irksome to Sitaram, and on the occasion of some difference between the Diwanji and the Shastri, I had not employed the latter at the Darbar for the last 28 days.

In this time Sitaram had listened to several persons very incapable of giving him good advice ; but I was unwilling to interfere too soon, and I hoped that his own reflection would correct his errors, before they became dangerous. The first use which these persons made of their influence, was to obtain varats or drafts for sums of money which they prevailed on Sitaram to issue in their favour, without the formality of the Raja's seal, and without making any communication of the circumstance to me, as had been usual, and according to the Diwan's agreement with me on his succession to the office. It is possible that Sitaram was alarmed lest these transactions should come to light and at the discovery which had been made of the misappropriation of Fatesing's ransom ; and that he proposed to avoid the first embarrassment of these disclosures by a temporary retreat to the Narbada.

It is with great regret that I have exposed these circumstances to public view, because I have hitherto entertained the best opinion of Sitaram, and have had occasion uniformly to represent his character in the most favourable light. I would still hope that no serious consequence will ensue from his present conduct, and that it will be found to proceed from the shame of having fallen into errors or from a pettish humour which will be soon dissipated.

After consulting with the Diwanji (brother of Sitaram Raoji, the real Diwan) and Madhavrao Tatyā on this event, I consented that the latter and Mr. Carnac should proceed to Chandod Karnali, which is only 18 kos distant from Baroda, and urge such arguments as may show the Diwan the necessity and propriety of returning to his duty.

No. 2. Minutes of conversation between Sitaram Raoji, the Gaikwad Diwan, and Mr. Carnac, on the 30th April 1804.

In the afternoon I was desired by Major Walker to wait on the Diwan, and having received my instructions I accordingly did so, and entered on the subject of the bills drawn in favour of Shah Ahmed Khan for the ransom of Fatesingrao Gaikwad by begging to be informed how it had occurred they were not accepted and returned to Baroda. Sitaram after a short time and somewhat embarrassed rendered the following account.

*Carnac and
Sitaram*

After the receipt of the stipulated sum for the release of the hostages with Shah Ahmed Khan it was determined that 2 domestics and a wani in the service of Fatesingrao's mother should proceed with the bills and, when duly discharged, return with the hostages to Baroda. They accordingly set out ; and the first news that he had heard of them and the hostages was their arrival in Kakaji's camp, when he supposed all was properly settled with Shah Ahmed Khan. On their coming to Baroda they remained at an adjacent paga for the space of 3 days, during which time one of the domestics sent came to the Darbar to make his salam to Sitaram. It was consequently asked how affairs were managed in the release of the hostages, and the following report was given by the khidmatgar.

"On our reaching Shah Ahmed Khan's camp, we found the hostages under no restrictions whatsoever ; and deeming this a good opportunity, we by some means procured cloaks, and disguising them, made our way from the camp. Finding our plan succeeding so well, we immediately

proceeded 15 kos, and afterwards made our way with the utmost dispatch to Kakaji's camp, where we arrived in perfect safety."

Sitaram then, said he, expressed his surprise at this occurrence, and immediately inquired after the bills. The man replied he had brought back bills to the amount of 38,000 Rupees, but that the bill for 12,000 the wani had got, who remained under some pretence a day or two behind, and that they had understood he had now run away. Sitaram then said he expressed his anger at this conduct ; but what could be done ?

The servant was then dismissed to the paga, and returned the following day with the hostages to pay their visit. They were questioned as to their release, and delivered the same account. They each received presents on their dismissal. Sitaram then concluded by saying he hoped I was satisfied with the account he had rendered.

1804 *Bombay, 14th May, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M. 63B)*

Jonathan Duncan to Alexander Walker.

Sitaram's flight I can hardly suppose that the single fact of Sitaram's detection in not paying the ransom of Fatesing would have made him decamp in the very abrupt manner he has done ; at the same time that, being at a loss to trace the event to any other cause, I can only, at hazard, suppose it may not be found altogether unconnected with the late dispute between him, and the Shastri, and the younger brother, called the 'Diwanji. Whatever are the true causes, should be sedulously and impartially investigated, as affording the only clue to guide to a just settlement of the diwanship in time to come ; and in the meanwhile I rely on your local influence and endeavours to prevent this very untoward and peculiarly unseasonable event from proving the source of disturbance or inefficiency in the Administration of the Gaikwad State, particularly at this critical juncture, when every nerve should be exerted towards equipping as numerous and respectable a body of their horse as possible to accompany Colonel Murray, a measure which I cannot too strongly impress on your attention or more cordially recommend than by assuring you that I look upon its attainment as superior to any object whatsoever now depending under this Presidency.

Money Besides this, it will become absolutely necessary to make up some sort of military chest for the Colonel, in which view I request that you will let him have to the last Rupee in your treasury, and [*that you*] endeavour to raise as much more for him as your credit and that of the Company at Baroda can extend to ; the whole supposing that he finds occasion to apply to you for this pecuniary aid, and has not otherwise provided to his own satisfaction, in which case he is of course to be left to his own judgment.

1804 *Bombay, 8th June, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M. 63B)*

James Grant to Alexander Walker.

Orders I am directed by the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to desire that you endeavour to open a communication with Shah Ahmed Khan, keeping Colonel Murray advised of the progress you may make therein, and of the result, or carrying it on altogether through the Colonel, according as local circumstances may render most convenient.

Baroda, 18th June, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M. 63B)
Alexander Walker to James Grant.

1804

I have the honour to enclose a copy of the English version of a *Letter* letter, which I addressed yesterday to Shah Ahmed Khan according to the instruction of the Hon'ble Governor-in-Council.

Letter from Alexander Walker to Shah Ahmed Khan, dated Baroda, 17th June.

Fatesingrao Gaikwad and his mother went with you from Poona, *Has to* and you arrived with them at Nandurbar. From thence they obtained *choose* your permission, and arrived here.

On leaving you, they engaged themselves to pay 50,000 Rupees as a ransom, and you sent some horsemen to conduct them to their own country. Anandrao Gaikwad Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur first remitted the bill for that amount by your own shroff, Dhirajmal, and Bhojraj, bakhshi; but, when they arrived at Nandurbar, you had gone to Malwa. After that I procured hundis on Jetpur and forwarded them by the shroff Dhirajmal and a jesus.

Dhirajmal however stole a hundi of 12,000 Rupees and escaped with the money; whereupon the senseless people, who were entrusted with the remainder, returned without paying any part of it to you.

Two hostages were left with you until the amount of the ransom money should be discharged; but they, being young men, left you improperly before the obligation, for which they were pledged, was performed. When the hostages escaped in this manner, and their arrival was known here, the British Government was extremely dissatisfied with their conduct; and I immediately made arrangement for remitting the money due to you from Fatesing.

Bills for the complete sum of 50,000 Rupees were procured on the sowcars of Jetpur; but, as the messenger was setting out to carry them to you, a war commenced with Jaswantrao Holkar. As a servant of Jaswantrao Holkar you now stand as an enemy to the British Government and its allies, and in this character all your claims are cancelled.

I have however embraced an early opportunity of explaining these circumstances to you, and of repeating that the British Government and its officers were surprised and displeased when they heard that the hostages had escaped from your camp. Upon this intelligence I immediately prepared the means a second time for transmitting the money to you, but the hostile conduct of Jaswantrao Holkar had rendered it necessary that the British Government should adopt measures for the defence of its territories and those of its allies.

By the blessing of God, the bravery and activity of the British troops have already been attended by their usual effects; and Holkar has discovered too late that he has adopted a line of conduct which must end in his ruin and destruction. It is in this manner that you stand in the light of an enemy to the British Government, and the invariable customs of the world and sound policy require that the English should not put into the hands of an enemy resources, which would be employed against its own security.

The justice however of the British Government is willing to admit that, as the sum of 50,000 Rupees was originally due to you for a valuable

consideration, they would be glad to find an opportunity of paying it, which it is in your power to afford them by taking an early occasion of quitting the service of Holkar, and returning to your home, and remaining there in tranquillity. On the other hand I am under the necessity of informing you that, if you remain in Holkar's service, all debts between the Gaikwad Government and you are cancelled, and your claim on account of the ransom of Fatesing will be forfeited accordingly.

The bearer will bring back you answer to this letter, or you may send it to any of the commanders of the British armies, who are now in the field against Holkar.

1804 *Baroda, 24th August, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M. 63E)*

Shah Ahmed Khan to Major Walker, dated 20th July, 1804.

Proposal I have received your judicious communication, adverting to the transmission of a bill of exchange for the sum of 50,000 Rupees by Dhirajmal Shahu and others, and of their returning from Nandurbar, because I had marched into Malwa, accompanied by other conciliatory and confidential notices imparted in very amicable terms.

The ingenuity of Europeans is indeed wonderful, since they can return the stream that has passed away, and give to falsehood the colour of truth and to truth that of its opposite. The case is, that the mother of Raja Fatesingrao Gaikwad Senakhaskhal dignified me by the appellation of her son; whilst I on my part looked up to her with the most religious devotion and submission of a parent. Thus circumstanced, the sum in question is but a very drop indeed out of the ocean of the sarkar's funds; and not equal to the support of one month's expense of my followers. But, if it suffices the views of your Government, that is the first object to be attended to.

Yet those who hold the reins of Empire should not recede from their engagements according to the saying, "The promise, which the tongue pronounces should be ratified by the heart." If therefore what you have now intimated, is in all sincerity and proceeds from the purity of your mind, it matters not; and I am in all cases your associate in good fortune and in bad; but the sums formerly stipulated and subsidiary aid equal to the calls of my army must, together with some persons of credit on your part, be dispatched hither to settle and complete the objects in view and to adjust a treaty on both sides; whereupon according to the writings of your sarkar, thus becoming my superior and protector, I will faithfully and zealously serve it.

For the rest there are several points that must be deferred till an interview, at which whatever now remains in our minds, will become manifest. It is proper that you continue to gladden me by favouring me with your obliging communications, since a letter is half an interview.

1804 *Poona, 2nd June, 1804 (1804, S. & P., D. 157)*

Major-General Wellesley to Jonathan Duncan.

Policy Since I have received your private letter on the subject of the money due to Shah Ahmed Khan, Pathan, on account of the ransom for Fatesing Gaikwad and his mother, I have considered the subject maturely, and I am about to state to you the result of my opinion regarding the measure to be adopted.

Fatesing Gaikwad and his mother were in the custody of Shah Ahmed Khan, who agreed to liberate them on condition that he should receive a certain ransom, amounting to 50,000 Rupees. It is not necessary to inquire whether the detention of the persons of Fatesing and his mother was a fair act on the part of Shah Ahmed Khan ; it is sufficient that the ransom was promised by those who are able to perform their engagement, and that in consequence of that engagement Fatesing and his mother were liberated.

The ransom ought to have been paid at the time that this event took place ; but, in consequence of certain pecuniary difficulties under which the Gaikwad Government laboured, the payment was deferred, and hostages were given as a security for the payment at a future period. These hostages have escaped from the camp of Shah Ahmed Khan ; and I imagine it is clearly understood that, if Shah Ahmed Khan did not now stand in the situation of an enemy to the British Government, as a servant of Jaswantrao Holkar, the Resident at Baroda would have made arrangements to pay him the money due for the ransom, notwithstanding the escape of the hostages.

There can be no doubt but that, as an enemy to the Government, Shah Ahmed Khan has cancelled all his claims ; they might be revived it is true in a negotiation for peace, but that is never likely to take place, on account of the character of the enemy with whom we have to deal, and of the manner in which it is intended to carry on the war, and of [*the way in*] which the enemy shall be considered and treated at the end of it.

It is desirable for the sake of the credit of the British Government that Shah Ahmed Khan should not believe that the Government were concerned in the escape of the hostages or were parties to the measure of defrauding him of the payment of the money due upon the ransom ; and in my opinion this beneficial measure can be effected and may be connected with other objects from which great benefit will be derived.

I recommend that an early opportunity should be taken of opening a communication with Shah Ahmed Khan, and that he should be informed that the British Government and its servants were much surprised and displeased when they heard that the hostages for the payment of the ransom had escaped from his camp, and that Major Walker had immediately taken measures to transmit the money to his camp. That in the meantime Jaswantrao Holkar, in relation to whom Shah Ahmed Khan stood as a servant, had rendered it necessary by his hostile conduct that the British Government should adopt measures for the defence of the British territories and those of their allies ; and that by the blessing of God the bravery and activity of the British troops had already been attended by their usual effects, and Holkar had begun to discover that he had adopted a line of conduct which must end in his ruin and destruction.

That in this manner Shah Ahmed Khan stood in the light of an enemy to the British Government, and that the invariable customs of the world and sound policy required that the British Government should omit to put into the hands of an enemy resources which would be applied against its own security and existence ; but that, as the debt to Shah

Ahmed was due for a valuable consideration, the British Government would be glad to find an opportunity of paying it to him ; which might be afforded to them by his taking an early occasion of quitting the service of Holkar, and returning to his home, and remaining there in tranquillity.

That on the other hand, if he should remain in Holkar's service, Holkar's enmity cancelled all debts and all engagements to pay them ; and he, Shah Ahmed Khan, must take the best measures in his power to recover them.

Section D : TREATIES WITH CHIEFTAINS

The country situated between Gujarat and Malwa was broken up into small States ruled over by petty Chieftains, who were not always on the best of terms among themselves, and were likewise exposed to be preyed upon by their more powerful neighbours, notably the Gaikwad and Sindia.

These Chieftains were anxious to safeguard their possessions and turned to the Company for protection.

DOCUMENTS

1803 *Baroda, 27th September, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)*

Alexander Walker to the Raja of Bariya.

Promise

I have received and read your letter to me and also seen yours to Amin Sahab with much satisfaction. They contain declarations of your dependence on the Hon'ble Company now in possession of Pavagarh and professions of your fidelity.

Be assured your pargana will be protected while you conduct yourself according to your professions of obedience. The officers at Pavagarh have been ordered to take care of you. But it will be better, for understanding mutually all matters, that you send a good man to confer with me. In the meantime be attentive to all that passes and frequently inform me thereof and of your health.

1803 *Baroda, 13th November, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)*

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

Chieftains

The enclosure will apprise the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of the degree of connection which subsists between the Gaikwad State and the petty Chiefs who possess territories between Gujarat and Malwa.

The rights either of Sindia or of the Gaikwad over these tribes are to the present day maintained, as they were originally acquired, by the sword. Their tributes are in the nature of military contributions, and were seldom paid but when an adequate force appeared to demand them. The rights also in themselves are unsettled, and it would seem that the Gaikwad and Sindia made arbitrary exactions according to

the supposed ability of the tributaries in proportion to their own means of enforcing payment. They troubled themselves very little afterwards with the protection of these dependants, whom they fleeced on every occasion, and then left to shift for themselves.

It will from these circumstances appear that the security, which these Chiefs may enjoy under the British protection, must be of the greatest consequence to them. This seems to have formed the utmost extent of their wishes. On the fall of Pavagarh most of the Chiefs, who considered their allegiance to be due to the possessors of that fortress, made offers of submission and tenders of their services, on condition of being admitted to the benefits of the Company's dependants. At a peace, humanity and policy will no doubt induce us to secure them against the effects of Sindia's resentment ; and the liberal protection of the British Power and the kind treatment, which they will experience in their intercourse with us, will be sufficient at present to secure their gratitude and fidelity.

Anandrao Pawar of Dhar, a more powerful Chieftain than any of those the subject of the foregoing remarks, has likewise solicited the English protection.

The relationship of Pawar to the Gaikwad family and the treatment he met with from Sindia are circumstances already known to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council. These applications of Pawar for the Company's favour were addressed me through the Diwan.

I have the honour to enclose his letter to Sitaram and the answer which I have returned.

Information obtained from Sitaram.

The Mandvi Raja pays tribute to the Peshwa.

Chieftains

The Vasuda Raja pays tribute to the Peshwa.

The following Chiefs were tributary to Sindia and paid their tributes at Godhra, the modern centre of the administration of the Panch Mahals : Sunth, Lunawada, Bariya, Bhameria, Kanjari, Mellol.

The following are tributary to the Gaikwad in the N. E. quarter : Idar and Modasa or Morasa.

N.B.—It moreover appears that the Gaikwad Government has in certain cases exercised a paramount authority over Kanjari, Bhameria and Lunawada.

The following are tributary to Anandrao Pawar of Dhar, maternal grandson to the late Govindrao Gaikwad : Banswara, Dungarpur.

Camp Kaliban, 15th December, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)

1803

Treaty with the Raja of Sunth.

See *Aitchison, Collection of Treaties, Vol. VI, p. 412.*

Treaty

Baroda, 17th December, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)

1804

Major Walker to Colonel Murray.

I have enclosed a copy of my intercourse with the Raja of Raghughar's vakil, who may be a useful ally in your invasion of Malwa. ^{garh} He is well situated to disturb almost in any direction Sindia's Government, and I fancy very well disposed to shake off his yoke. The vakil was

anxious to receive an assurance that those countries, which he formerly possessed, and which he says he has in jaidad from us, should be restored to his Master, and that some specific promise should be made to that effect. I did not think myself authorised to make this engagement, and the man appeared satisfied to trust events, which, he was given to understand, would produce advantages to the Raja in proportion to his exertions in the common cause. The vakil proceeds immediately to meet you at Dohad.

It may be observed that I have no other proof than his assertion of the former connection of Jaysing's family with the Company, or that he held any possessions in jaidad, which is a military tenure, from us.

1804 *Bombay*, 27th April, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 156.)

Treaty with the Raja of Lunawada as concluded by Colonel Murray.

Treaty See Aitchison, *Collection of Treaties*, Vol. VI, p. 408.

1892.

N.B.—In Aitchison the treaty is dated, Lunawada, November 14th, 1803. In the Bombay Diary the treaty is recorded on April 27th, 1804.

No. 4. KANHOJI'S REBELLION

THE documents referring to Kanhoji's rebellion deal with military operations and political transactions. From a military point of view they are of little importance ; but their lack of interest in this respect is fully made up for by their political significance. This significance has been stressed in detail in the introduction, and it is in the light of the observations there made that these documents should be studied.

DOCUMENTS

Baroda, 18th July, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 146)
Alexander Walker to James Grant.

1803

I have the honour to enclose copies of a paper containing information *At Galiakot* of Kanhoji.

Paper of information.

Kanhoji is now at Galiakot ; he has taken from the Raja of Dungarpur about 22,000 Rupees after fighting with and killing one of his chief officers, called Sirdarsing. He also extorted from the village of Vaswar 15,000 Rupees, and from Sunth 10,000 Rupees. Such is the news that has come ; and it is added that he has moved on one stage hitherwards and is coming to Lunawada.

Ajanta Ghat, 20th July, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)
Nagoram to Raoji Appaji.

1803

Kanhoji has lately addressed letters to the writer, who has answered *Holkar* them. He hears that Kanhoji corresponds with Holkar ; on which he promises to write again when he hears thereof.

Baroda, 22nd July, 1803 (1803 P. D. 51)
Reports about Kanhoji, forwarded by Alexander Walker to James Grant.

1803

No. 1. Report from Govind Naik, jasus, and Khushalgar Gosain, dated Baroda, 21st July, 1803.

Govind Naik, jasus, and Khushalgar Gosain, in the service of the *Camp* Resident, returned from the camp of Kanhojirao, which they left on the 15th instant. Govind places his [*Kanhojirao's*] ground of encampment on this bank of the Mahi River between the villages of Gujerpur and Nagurwar. This account the Gosain confirms ; and what follows is information from Khushalgar.

I passed Thursday last in Kanhoji's camp and slept during the night in the camp bazar. There are about 6,000 men in all : 4,000 infantry, 1,500 Maratha horse and 500 followers of various description. The infantry troops are divided into Arabs and Paradesis (or people from various parts of India). There is one piece of ordnance and two zamburaks. There are two broad standards and two large elephants.

Shivram and the lame Arab were in camp with Kanhoji, who, with the above, arrived on Monday the 11th near Gujerpur, after two marches from Galiakot (a distance of 18 kos), which town he had plundered, killed Bakhtawarsing, the Raja thereof, and his son, and now holds his diwan in custody, and going 8 kos N. W. laid waste the village of Sagwara in that space (of 2 days).

I saw Kanhojirao, Shivram and the lame Arab in one tent sitting, and they seemed in deep consultation.

The people of Dungarpur, and other places on their northern neighbourhood, since the conduct of Kanhoji at Galiakot and thereabouts, had strengthened the roads into their country, and were determined to keep him out. In consequence, it is understood, he meditates an inroad into these districts as soon as the rain shall have abated, and [as soon as] forage (which is plenty in the hilly and woody regions he has been scouring of late) be found for his cattle here in the low country.

1803 *Baroda, 24th July, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)*
Information about Dungarpur State.

No. 1. *Letter from Rawal Fatesing of Dungarpur to Raoba, dated 13th July, 1803.*

Request I have received your letter and derived great satisfaction from the perusal of it. You say : "I will send the troops of the English Bahadur." My country is suffering much, send therefore soon your own and the English troops. Let nothing divide us. Write to me often.

No. 2. *Letter from Rakhodas Parbhulal, wakil of the Dungarpur Raja, to Alexander Walker.*

Request My Master about 20 days ago wrote to the late Raoba and Sitaram, stating the depredations committing by Kanhojirao Gaikwad in the environs of Galiakot, and requesting the aid of this Government to give him an effectual check. Their reply to that petition enjoined my Master not to meet and accommodate matters with Kanhoji, but to hope for a speedy advance of English and Gaikwad troops.

Four days ago another letter to Sitaram arrived [*was sent*], praying for the dispatch of the promised military aid immediately or an unequivocal answer that he might employ those means that policy dictated for his own preservation ; but Sitaram refers my Master's communication by writing and me, his wakil, to the Resident.

He (the Raja) conceives that it is the time to attack Kanhoji, who, he says, is casting cannon at Sagwara ; and the plan of operation is for the auxiliaries to attack him from the south, while a few forces would fall on from the north, in which direction the Raja has strengthened all the defiles to prevent the retreat of Kanhoji as well as his designs upon the town and interior of Dungarpur.

No. 3. *Information about the Bhau.*

Bhau North-east of Dungarpur, at a distance of 12 kos, is the town and castle of Salumbar, depending on the Udaipur Rana or Raja, near which is the nephew of the late Lakhoba Dada with a crowd called an army and calculated to consist of 5,000 or 6,000 horse and foot. But the

informant's knowledge of their strength is formed from the vague accounts of kasids, on whose reports, too, [*is formed the knowledge*] of letters having been written by the Bhau to Kanhoji, agreeing to join him. The kasids have moreover counted a couple of hundred horse coming to, and quartering in, Kanhoji's camp from the Bhau at Salumbar.

No. 4. The Raja's intentions.

The Raja of Dungarpur pays an annual tribute of 14,000 Rupees *Appeal* to Anandrao Pawar. He divides an equal sum between Sindia and Holkar. The Dungarpur Raja applies for aid to this Government [*Baroda*] (to which he pays no tribute or consideration for protection) in place of the Powers above mentioned, to get rid of the oppressions of Kanhoji, from a supposition that, Kanhoji being a rebel to the Baroda Government, it would be agreeable and advantageous to the latter to act in concert with the Dungarpur Chief in view to apprehend his person or break his power.

The vakil is of opinion that his Master, rather than hazard the happiness of his people, will purchase peace from Kanhoji, unless the Company or Gaikwad give him timely support by detaching thither their troops.

Walker's comment.

Were other circumstances favourable to this expedition, the *Advice* Chieftain in question and others in his neighbourhood, who are equally interested to procure the overthrow of Kanhoji, would prove useful allies for this purpose; but I have only ventured at present to advise them to make the utmost resistance in their power and to hope in time for the assistance of the English forces.

Baroda, 24th July, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)
Reports about Kanhoji.

1803

No. 1. Letter from Pratapsing of Lunawada.

A man, whom I had sent to Kanhoji's camp, has just returned *Forces* and reports that Kanhoji is at present at Sagwara with an army of 7,000 men, and that the army of the Bhau, amounting to 6,000 men, is at Salumbar, a village so called, whither Kanhoji's people have carried messages to call him. In four or five days they will be in our place.

Kanhoji has caused two new guns (cannon) to be cast to Sagwara. He will be on Kanhoji in ten days, and then he will march to this quarter.

Kanhoji plundered Sagwara and got two lakhs of Rupees out of it, from which he has paid his troops. Such is the substance of intelligence received.

Note added in the Diary.

This person, the Bhau, was formerly in Sindia's service, and is at *The Bhau* present at the head of 3,000 men in search of employ. He is described to be a partisan of the addressee. His brother was a bakshi in Sindia's service and put to death by him a few years ago.

Forces No. 2. Report from Bhagwan Jadav.

I slept in the shop of a Banya. From the Banya I learned that Kanhoji's followers amounted to 6,000 men, viz., 3,000 Arabs 1,500 horse and 1,500 infantry. That they had come there from the plundering and firing of the pettah of Galiakot. The situation of the above army was on the morning of the 21st instant, upon the borders of a tank close by the town of Sagwara, which had been subjected to plunder some days before, and the Chief, on the arrival of Kanhoji who had invited him to a conference to settle his ransom, assassinated or massacred.

Forces No. 3. Report from Vithoba and Dharma.

Report of Vithoba, harkara in the service of the Resident, and of Dharma in the service of the Gaikwad Raja, who were dispatched hence to obtain intelligence of Kanhoji on the 10th, and are just returned from the vicinity of his camp, which they left on Monday, the 18th instant. Kanhoji Gaikwad with a body of between five and six thousand men was encamped at no great distance from the villages of Gujervada and Nagurpada, which are four kos from each other, on the south side of the Mahi (the water of which they drink), within the jurisdiction of the Dharwalla or Pawar Raja.

We went to Kudana, a village within four kos or five from the ground of encampment. We learnt at the above village that the number of Arabs² with Kanhoji was ten thousand of horses, fifteen hundred foot, and the rest made up various descriptions of fighting-men and followers. That they were encamped with three guns, one large and two small. That there were also two elephants belonging to Shivram and the lame Arab. The informants were not told the direction Kanhoji meant to take before his plunder of Galiakot and Sagwara, but in consequence of his violent proceedings against these towns the inhabitants of that neighbourhood have posted themselves on all the passes; and it is said he is now so closely hemmed in as to be unable to stir without a certain serious loss.

Gujervada and Nagurpada are 12 kos north of Sagwara, which is as many more north from Galiakot.

1803 Baroda, 30th July, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)

Reports about Kanhoji.

No. 1. Letter from Raghunath Mahipatrao (Kakaji) to Sitaram and Sakharam Diwanji.

News A kasid, sent for intelligence of Kanhoji through Vakhatchand Seth, returned last night with letters from the Raja of Dungarpur and his karbari or minister.

No. 2. Minister's letter.

Plan Kanhoji and Shivram are encamped at Sagwara with 1,000 Arabs, 700 horse, and other sibandis to the number of 1,500. Besides, they are enlisting more. They are making four guns. That will require

¹ In a preceding report these villages are called Gujerpur and Nagurwar.

² The numbers of Kanhoji's followers are exaggerated and particularly the Arabs, who are from good information under a thousand. [Note in the Diary]

ten or fifteen days. Moreover they have invited from Udaipur four thousand of the Bhau's. These are preparing to join, but it will take them ten or twelve days to perform the march; before which if you sent from Ahmadabad four thousand troops and a proportion of artillery to arrive in the twelve days, I will join our forces to them and get possession of the persons of Kanhoji, Shivram and the rest, and put them in your power. If according to this plan you act, Kanhoji and the rest may be easily punished; which however, were the troops from Udaipur to form a junction, owing to our delay, would be a more difficult task. Therefore, on receipt of this, detach hitherwards four thousand men, and I will give Kanhoji into your hands.

No. 3. Letter from the Raja of Dungarpur.

Babu Saheb, if battalions of troops are to be detached from Baroda, *Request* let it be soon, that he [*Kanhoji*] may be punished, and the Udaipur Chief prevented from joining him.

Baroda, 7th August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)
Reports about Kanhoji.

1803

No. 1. Report from Dulab Ram, harkara.

I saw Shivram and the lame Arab jamadar. They all got a great deal of money at Sagwara and rich plunder. The doors of the granaries have been thrown open, and every one fed to his full, who chooses to enter the service of Kanhoji; numbers are now flocking to him. I do not suppose that he has less than twelve thousand men in all. The people who are now joining him are from Malwa, Gujarat and other provinces; they are of the Rajput and other tribes. The Arabs amount to three thousand or three thousand five hundred. *Kanhoji's army*

The Dungarpur Raja about ten days ago purchased the preservation of Dungarpur, paying to Kanhoji a sum of twenty-five thousand Rupees.

Kanhoji's camp bears the appearance of being designed to be stationary for some time. His principal officers and himself agree very well, and the people are all pleased with plenty.

A horsekeeper in the service of Shivram, whom I knew a little, told me, with what truth I cannot say, that Kanhoji had opened a negotiation with Holkar, the object of which was to put Kanhoji in possession of Baroda, for which Kanhoji will pay to Holkar fifty-five lakhs of Rupees, and that this was agreed on between the parties to be attempted after the rains. *Kanhoji's plan*

No. 2. Intercepted letter from Kanhoji to Malharrao.

We were resolved to tarry here two months, but we have heard of occurrences at Baroda, which have determined us to come with three or four thousand troops to Taranga in the pargana of Idar. That place is strong, being surrounded by deep jungle and ravines. From thence Vadnagar is five kos; Visnagar and Vijapur, ten kos; Patan, fifteen kos. We wish you to come all events to Taranga, taking the road of Sovivara [*Sinawara?*]. On meeting we shall make up our minds for future action of conduct. *Plan*

1803 *Baroda, 7th August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)*

Danger arising from Kanhoji's rebellion.

Danger See Part V, Section A, *Walker's reflections on the State of affairs in Gujarat*, entry of August 7, 1803, marginal heading: *Kanhoji and others.*

1803 *Baroda, 8th August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)*

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

Appeal to Chiefs I have deputed a person to the Chieftains who possess the north-eastern parts of Gujarat, and whose territories have been laid under contribution by Kanhoji since he was compelled to quit the Gaikwad dominions.

The enclosed copy of instructions to Mahadaji Cundavi [*Kond-dev Deshpande* ?], the agent sent on this service, will explain the objects in view from his deputation.

The Chiefs of Dungarpur, Lunawada, Banswara and the rest in these quarters pay a military exaction under the name of mulukgiri to Sindia or Holkar ; but exclusive of this they are sovereigns in their own country, and have a right to contract alliances, to make peace or war, and enter into engagements as independent States. The Dungarpur Raja's vakil, who was here, asserted that his Master is in full possession of these rights, and those, whom I have spoken to on the subject at Baroda, affirm the same thing. Since this is the case, no objection can be made by Sindia to our troops pursuing Kanhoji into the country alluded to. I take the liberty most respectfully to recommend that the person appointed to the present mission may be allowed to receive the allowances of the enclosed schedule.

No. 1. Walker's instructions to Cundavi [Kond-dev Deshpande ?].

Instructions

The object of your mission is principally to gain an exact account of Kanhoji's force and to encourage the Chiefs, whose country he is at present laying waste, to unite for their mutual defence.

For these purposes you will proceed first to Lunawada, thence to Dungarpur and Banswara, and generally visit the petty States on the banks of the Mahi. You are provided with letters to these Chieftains in the Company's name and from the Gaikwad sarkar. The Raja of Dungarpur has already opened a correspondence with the Government and has sent a vakil for the purpose of concerting measures against the enemy. You will also receive a letter from that person to his Master.

On reaching the respective residencies of those Rajas you will press them in the strongest manner to enter on a joint system for their own defence, and endeavour to make them unite their forces.

You will apprise them that Kakaji and Amin Saheb will immediately take the field, and that the Company's battalions are following.

You will examine and report on the state of the roads in order that the English may know whether their large guns and carriages can pass on them.

As soon as you come within the proper distance of Kanhoji's camp, you will endeavour to open a communication with it. You must obtain the most exact information of his forces and the name of every sardar with an account of the number of people under him, specifying their

caste, and how they are armed. You will ascertain the dispositions of these Chiefs, and how they stand affected towards Kanhoji, or Kanhoji towards them. You will also endeavour to learn what may be the future plans and views of these parties, either separately or collectively.

It is thought Kanhoji himself has not much confidence in the Arabs, and it is probable that these people as well as the rest of his followers only remain with him to ensure their own subsistence or to have a pretext for plundering the country. You may, therefore, try whether they are not to be prevailed on to desert him and to lay hold of his person. Should they deliver him up to you or to any of the Gaikwad officers, I shall take care that they are well rewarded for this service.

You will keep a journal of your proceedings and collect as much information as possible of the state of the country, and the character and strength of its government. Of all these circumstances you will keep me minutely and frequently informed.

On the other hand, as the English have no enmity with Kanhoji further than as he persists in disturbing the Gaikwad Government, you may, if you find a proper opportunity, assure him, provided he separates from his present associates and submits himself, of a suitable provision under the Company's guarantee. In this case the Hon'ble the Governor of Bombay will assign a place for his residence, where he may live in security with his family, whom I shall pledge myself to see restored to him. *Offer to Kanhoji*

The advantages of this arrangement to Kanhoji are evident, as he would be placed at once in a respectable and secure situation far preferable to the wandering and precarious mode in which he exists at present. In confirmation of these friendly sentiments you can communicate to Kanhoji my endeavours to obtain his release from the Arabs and the uniform disapprobation of the English Government of the severity of his confinement. These circumstances you can relate as you are acquainted with the conferences I held with the Arab jamadars on the subject. You will not, however, communicate these sentiments to Kanhoji, unless you have some prospect or assurance beforehand of success.

No. 2. Memorandum of allowance to Mahadaji Cundavi [Kond-dev Deshpande].

Travelling charges and attendants.

					<i>Pay</i>
Pay per month ..	..	Rs. 50	Hay and gram for a		
One cook ..	..	Rs. 5	horse and a poney ..	Rs. 20	
One khidmatgar ..	..	Rs. 6	1 horse keeper ..	Rs. 8	
Diet money ..	..	Rs. 30	2 sepoys at 6 each ..	Rs. 12	
			1 jasus ..	Rs. 6	
		Rs. 91			
					Rs. 46
			Total ..	Rs. 137	

No. 3. *Circular letter to the following Chiefs.*

Letter

Bhimsing Rathode, Chief of Jhabua,
 Rana Pratapsing, Chief of Lunawada,
 Thakur Bhimsing, Chief of Kadana,
 Gangdas Raval, Chief of Bariya,
 Bijayasing Raval, Chief of Banswara,
 Shivsing Rana, Chief of Sunth,
 Fatesing Raval, Chief of Dungarpur.

"Mahadaji Pandit is sent to you. He will come into your country, and I hope you will take good care of him. He will communicate to you my wishes, which it will be for your benefit to comply with. Receive his advice; and when he would proceed farther, you will conduct him in safety out of your territory. He is dispatched by him, and this [letter] is his credentials."

1803 *Camp (Kathiawar), 9th August, 1803 (1803. P. D. 51)**Babaji to Major Walker.*

Aid

Kakaji will go against Kanhoji; but without the Company's troops such enemies will not be punished; a battalion therefore should be detached against Kanhoji.

1803 *Baroda, 9th August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)**Report from Punja, a kasid, to Alexander Walker.*

Camp

Kanhojirao was encamped, on the side of a tank in its vicinity with Shivram and Muhammad Abud and another Arab jamadar, a relation of the latter, with a body of 12,000 fighting-men. I could not count them correctly, but I believe there was that number. The Banya, who belonged to the camp bazar, with whom I stayed, told me there were 3,000 Arabs, 3,000 horse, mostly Marwaris and Marathas, and 6,000 infantry sepoys of that country and the interior of Hindustan.

The Banya also told me that Harinath, in view to accompany him to Baroda with ten or fifteen thousand men, was on the way to assist Kanhoji, and was within four or five marches.

The name of the Banya, whom I have spoken of, is Goverdhan Mahadeo. He is an inhabitant of Dakor (a consecrated place in the pargana of Monde), where his family resides. I asked him for a written account of what was going on in camp, but he was afraid, alleging a discovery would cost him and me our noses.

The same person told me the Dungarpur Raja had paid 25,000 Rupees to Kanhoji not to disturb him or his people.

*Remarks in the Diary.*News
doubted

It is probable the informant has forgotten the name of the person reported to be coming to co-operate with Kanhoji. Since he is said to be so near, it would agree better with the situation of the Bhau; at the same time it must be remembered that the last report from Kanhoji's quarters corresponds with this in respect to Holkar's promise of putting him in possession of Baroda.

As the number of men stated by the above informant to be with Kanhoji is much more than former reports (except the last on the fifth instant) through any channel, proper people have been dispatched to

Dakor, at first hand to learn if such a Banya as Goverdhan, belonging to that village is with Kanhoji. It may further be remarked that it is not likely a Banya would communicate such matters as are here stated to a stranger, with whom he had no previous acquaintance.

Baroda, 23rd August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)
Reports about Kanhoji.

1803

No. 1 Report from Dulab Ram, karkara.

There [Sagwara] in the camp of Kanhojirao and his confederates *Forces* I passed three days, sheltering in the tent of Utumi, a mukaddam or naik of jasus, with whom I am acquainted. I pretended to be seeking employment, and he permitted me to stay without suspicion. On Tuesday the army moved, and I accompanied it along the northern banks of the Mahi river five kos west, where it encamped near a ferry three kos in a northerly direction from Virpur, eleven kos from Lunawada, thirty from Kapadvanj and about six and twenty kos from Godhra, by which route it is intended to advance to Baroda ; the whole distance between the situation I left them in and this place being but fifty-five or fifty-six kos.

Kanhojirao, Shivram and the lame Arab jamadar have from twelve to thirteen thousand fighting-followers. Kanhoji's own division consists of seventeen hundred horse mounted by Marathas, men of Malwa and Kathiawar, and upwards of three thousand foot, Gujaratis, Deccanis, Mussulmen, etc. Shivram's quota consists of one hundred and fifty horse and near four thousand sepoy of Bengal and Hindustan. The lame Abud has about two thousand Arabs, they say three ; but Utumi's information confined them to two thousand or two thousand five hundred.

The above force carried along with them fourteen pieces of ordnance, large and small, and six carts full of ammunition from their ground at Sagwara.

Besides the above, a body of five thousand horse and one thousand foot, with six guns under Jaswantrao Bhau (the son of Jiwaba Dada), who joined at Sagwara the same day I reached it, came on with them to the new ground of encampment north of the Mahi, and means to share his fate with Kanhoji, who has promised to make him diwan of the Gaikwad State when he himself shall be seated on the pillow.

No. 2. Raghunath Mahipatrao (Kakaji) to Sitaram Raoji and Sakharam Chimnaji, dated 20th August.

The Dungarpur Raja has got Kanhoji to quit his station at Sagwara by a promise of paying him 30,000 Rupees and giving him two guns ; which has been settled by giving security for 20,000 Rupees in cash and an elephant in the place of 10,000 Rupees and two guns. Mussa Khan and another jamadar or two stand security to Kanhoji, and his camp has moved four kos this way. Mussa Khan has gone to bring the Rs. 20,000, an elephant and two guns, as agreed upon, with which he will have returned by this time. *Kanhoji active*

There remain no demands then on Dungarpur, and they have got rid of their oppressor by the power of money. He is accompanied in his course hitherwards by three thousand five hundred or four thousand

fighting-men. It is necessary therefore that the troops of Government speedily assemble and give him a check.

Under the 17th August Trimbak Pant Appa writes from Visnagar that a kasid of his has returned from seeing the army of Kanhoji, and says that it is encamped at Sunth, which is fifteen or twenty kos from Lunawada. Thus from two sources the circumstance of Kanhoji's moving is confirmed.

Jalimsing of Malpur Mongodra, who possesses some power thereabouts, writes frequently. He advises that he has placed watches on the roads and paths in his quarter, composed of Bhils, Kolis and others, but that his means of resistance are small compared to Kanhoji's host, and urging the necessity of our troops making their appearance, or he will be overcome.

Be assured it is not their intention to be idle ; by a march or two they will penetrate into our own territories and trouble will ensue. Therefore you should send speedily a battalion with Amin, jamadar, and the rest. I have prepared the troops of this place and of Patan, with the number of which you are acquainted. We shall try what can be done when Amin arrives.

It is the first business that ought to be attended to, and you know it will not be eligible to set out after the 1st of September. There are no obstacles in the road to the travelling of guns from water, mud or clay. Should any be conceived to occasion delay, it will cause more consideration and actual means to avert the evil consequence to the country.

Kanhoji has increased his men and other means. He has three or four guns and some Pathans. Were they blasted at once, it would be but right, before they collect in greater force to overrun the country, plunder, and lay it waste from Vijapur to Kheralu.

Explain all this state of things to the Major, and expedite the departure of troops.

1803 *Baroda, 24th August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)*
Alexander Walker to Major-General Wellesley.

Plans The reports of the harkaras make Kanhoji's force much more considerable, but the present account comes from a respectable source which entitles it to credit.

With the addition of the forces under Jiwaba Dada, Kanhoji will probably return to Gujarat with 6,000 men. You will observe, Sir, that he has made one march in this direction, and he probably only waits to receive the contribution of the Dungarpur Raja, whom he has compelled to purchase his safety, to cross Malwa. He will endeavour, it is likely, to renew his connections with the Kolis, who favoured him last season, and to exact tribute from the Chiefs on the banks of the Mahi.

To oppose Kanhoji some of the Gaikwad forces have taken the field, and the rest are assembling. When these forces are collected, they will amount to about 1,200 cavalry and 400 to 500 foot.

The 2nd battalion of the 1st Regiment is on its route to Kaira in order to join the Gaikwad detachment and give, if possible, some system and vigour to its operations.

Bombay, 30th August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)

1803

James Grant to Alexander Walker.

I am directed by the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to desire *Steps* that you continue to pursue the most effectual measures for opposing *against* and frustrating the invasion of Kanhoji through the joint operation of the Gaikwad native force aided and supported as far as you may deem necessary by the subsidised British troops, keeping in view in the measures, that may be through your requisitions to the local commanding officer adopted for this indispensable and pressing service, the views and plan of general defence indicated in the 17th and following paragraphs of the Hon'ble Major-General Wellesley's letter of the 22nd of August¹, of which a copy has already been transmitted to you.

And as from the intelligence accompanying your letter it would appear that Kanhoji or Shivram enlisted sundry Bengalis and natives of Benares or of the dominions of the Nawab Vizier, Government consent to your applying, as far as you may deem expedient, the like means, as are authorised in the proclamations transmitted to you in my letter of the 15th instant, for inducing all such subjects of the Hon'ble Company or of their ally, the sovereign of Oudh, to withdraw themselves from Kanhoji's party, Shivram alone excepted, who cannot be admitted to pardon, unless with the full permission of the Ministers of the Gaikwad State.

The Governor-in-Council has the more readily adopted this line of instruction to you from observing by Babaji Appaji's letter to you of 9th August, 1803, that that officer of the Gaikwad State will alone be able to act against and repress Mulharrao; which you are accordingly to continue to excite him to effect to the utmost.

Baroda, 31st August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)

1803

Reports about Kanhoji.

No. 1. *Mahadaji Pant to Major Walker, dated Lunawada, 26th August, 1803.*

What follows is the most authentic account of circumstances at *Forces* this place. Kanhoji has got an army of ten thousand men. The directors thereof are Shivram and Murrarao. A hundred pair of jاسوس are entertained for intelligence. The watch upon the road is complete, and one cannot pass it. They have the Kolis and Bhils to their cause. Half of the inhabitants of Lunawada are well inclined to them and hourly communicate information. I met the Raja on my arrival here, delivered your letter, and told him what you desired me to do. He has written a letter to you.

No. 2. *Pratapsing, Chief of Lunawada, to Major Walker.*

I have received your friendly letter, which has filled me with *Friendly* gladness. Mahadaji Pandit imparted to me your good wishes and the business on which he was sent. I feel obliged by your attention and beg you to look upon this place as your own and the collective body of Rajputs as your servants.

¹ See Part V, War with Sindia and Bhonsla, Section A, *Wellesley's letter to Jonathan Duncan*, dated 22nd August, 1803

No. 3. *Report from Hanmantrao, a peon, and Punja, a kasid, who brought Mahadaji Pani's letter.*

Forces

These men report nearly verbatim their personal observations, as the Pant writes, on authority which he credits. They are more minute in describing the component parts of Kanhoji's horse. They say he has 3,000 Arabs, 2,500 horse and 4,500 infantry. They saw only two small brass guns and believe he has no more. They stayed four days in camp, waiting to see whether Bhau (Jaswantrao) was really come, as he was in the mouth of everybody belonging to Kanhoji's camp; but he did not arrive during their stay, although he was certainly on the way, being only 20 kos distant by all accounts.

1803 *Baroda, 2nd September, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)*

Letter from Joytaram, an agent of the Rana of Lunawada, dated 29th August.

Kanhoji has moved from Sagwara and is encamped three kos on this side of it at Karugda, which is distant thirty kos from Lunawada. He has three thousand horse and four thousand foot.

His agent has gone to bring an army, belonging to a Bhau, of six or seven thousand strong. They have not yet come; but, when they shall have joined, or changed their ground, I will advise you.

1803 *Lunawada, 4th September, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)*

Mahadaji Pant to Major Walker.

Allies

The Dungarpur Raja has given to Kanhojirao Gaikwad an elephant and ten thousand Rupees. They had a meeting. It seemed friendly; whether the parties felt it, God knows.

Jaswant Jivaji, who was formerly in the service of Sindia and is now called the Bhau, but who does not belong to Sindia's service at present, has joined Kanhoji and his fortunes. He has brought 3,000 foot, 1,000 horse, 1,000 people of various descriptions and three guns. Their intention is to break ground or advance soon.

Shivram's son is at Bariya, I hear; but I will inquire and inform you more particularly hereafter. Accompanying is a letter from Pratapsing.

N.B.—The letter from the Rana Pratapsing contains nothing in addition to the above letter, save that the Bhau has got 5,000 Rupees from Kanhoji, but insists on a sufficient security for 5,000 more, before he will move.

1803 *Vijapur, 8th September, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 148)*

Devarao Kashi to Kakaji.

Fears

The kamavisdar of Vadnagar and Visnagar had allowed the people of the town to take themselves away, being in terror of Kanhoji. An agent of the Raja of Umnagar has just arrived and informs for certain that Kanhoji with ten or fifteen thousand men has come to Modasa, 30 kos from Vijapur.

1803 *Baroda, 10th September, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 148)*

Alexander Walker to Colonel Murray.

Plans

That Kanhojirao has solicited Holkar's assistance, all accounts render beyond doubt. The latest intelligence from various sources fix the number of Kanhoji's followers at ten thousand.

Baroda, 14th September, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 148)
Major Walker to the Raja of Lunawada.

1803

In answer to your letter, advising of the injury Kanhoji means *Aid* to you for being a friend of the Company and the Gaikwad Raja, I have to inform you that the English and Gaikwad troops are in motion to chastise him, if he does not accept of the amicable and advantageous openings yet in his power through the intervention of the English Government; and if he persists therefore, you must join your means to that detachment in order to distress him; and further be assured that, if Kanhojirao distresses your country, it will be against his getting anything good from this Government.

The essence of all is that the English Company feel a friendship for you. Believe this, and that the enemy will one day meet his deserts. In the meantime use every effort to keep his luti out of your country.

Bombay, 24th September, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 149)
Jonathan Duncan to Major Walker.

1803

On the return yesterday of Major Malcolm from Thana he mentioned to me a letter from General Wellesley, wherein the latter urged strongly the expediency of conciliating with Kanhoji. He said he was not fully aware of the nature and merits of the case; but that, if a pension or even a fort would satisfy and guard that insurgent, it would be desirable, thereby to allow Colonel Murray the means of marching on with his whole force or with a detachment of adequate strength to Ujjain; which might at once go to terminate the war. I promised to write to you on a subject holding forth so much of enticement to stretch a point; at the same time that I expressed my apprehensions to the Major that, until once well-defeated Kanhoji would not listen to reason in point of any compromise that could be offered to him. The best way may then be to march against him immediately with a strong detachment, and thus by getting the better of him by means of force, or persuasion, or of both united, to enable Colonel Murray to act with the greatest possible accumulation of means for general purposes of the war; at the same time that, if, contrary to our experience hitherto, you should find him disposed or disposable through the agency you have now with him to accept of a pension or even of a single district not exceeding the half of the value of that lately assigned to Malharrao, the objects of the war are of such a paramount nature that, if you can obtain the Raja's and Sitaram's concurrence, I would certainly be for acting on this conciliatory process rather than, for any local consideration that can be got, even to cramp in the least our general efforts in the common cause. See then what may be practicable on this footing.

*Peace
advised*

Baroda, 28th September, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)
Walker's correspondence.

1803

No. 1. Letter from Rana Pratapsing, Chief of Lunawada, to Major Walker, dated 19th September, 1803, received the 24th September, 1803.

I wait for the sarkar's troops, and have put him [Kanhoji] off until *Request* that period; but yet your troops are not arrived, and he is molesting my pargana and plundering the villages. Kanhoji is 12 kos distant from Lunawada. He is demanding much money from me, and I am

not able to pay him what he asks ; therefore Kanhoji distresses my pargana. I have full confidence in you, and you are my master. You will, on perusing the letter, dispatch the troops without delay to this place.

I am very glad that Pavagarh is taken by the Company ; I belong to your sarkar ; for, although I govern the affairs of this country, you should account it yours.

I request a recommendatory letter to the commanding officer at Pavagarh and Godhra that they should protect me in every respect and also that, as the Chief of Lunawada is in obedience to the Company, he is not to be molested. These letters to be delivered to Desai Lalla and Trivedi Mayaram, whom I have dispatched to your place. They will represent my case to you, which you may be assured is the truth. Should there be any delay in sending troops from Baroda to chastise Kanhoji, let an order be sent to the commanding officer at Pavagarh to perform it. I remain here by your favour.

No. 2. Letter from Rajaram Desai of Kapadvanj, to Sitaram Raoji, dated 26th September, 1803.

Mukund Mukundrao, accompanied by three horsemen and a few men on foot, has gone and met Kanhoji. He went by Balasinor in changed habits and as a stranger travelling.

Success Kanhoji has taken 25,000 Rupees from the Lunawada Raja. He was at Peit, but has since moved, and is now encamped between Megraj and Malpur. Such are the reports of the day, and that they design going to Modasa. I have dispatched a kasid ; and whenever I obtain true intelligence, I will communicate the same to you.

Remark in the Diary.

This information is very much to be doubted, as it is contrary to the letter of the Lunawada Raja of the 24th ; and the agents, who left that Chief on the 20th, positively declare that he had no intention of compounding with Kanhoji, unless he found himself entirely abandoned by us.

No. 3. Pratapsing, Rana or Raja of Lunawada, to Major Walker, dated Saturday, 24th September, 1803.

Request Although I have, agreeably to your advice, kept on my guard against Kanhoji, and waited the arrival of your Government's troops, which I expected in a few days after the receipt of your letter, to punish Kanhoji, my country is suffering much from his depredations. In view to divert him from these acts I sent to him a man, whom he has put in restraint. I trust therefore the troops of Government will come this way immediately.

Desai Lalla and Mayaram Trivedi, whom I have deputed to prefer my requests to you, Sir, will have informed you of the state of things.

I hold you as my head or lord, and look to you, Sir, for security. What can I say beyond that, but that a force may come to Kanhoji ; and here allow me to beg your instructions to Kakaji and the officer in command of your detachment not to molest or affrighten my people, favouring me with a copy or counterpart of such injunctions.

No. 4. Information of Lalla Desai and Mayaram, Brahmans belonging to the Rao Pratapsing, Chief of Lunawada, 28th September, 1803.

We were dispatched by the Rana Pratapsing to request Major Walker that he should be pleased to send a parwanah or guarantee paper to the Raja, that he may in security send his wakil to consult here, and certify that he shall not be molested by anybody; also a letter to the commanding officer of Pavagarh is to be given into our hands in case the troops should proceed into the Raja's pargana, that he is to be considered as the friend of the English and his country protected.

We left Lunawada on the 20th of September, and arrived here on the 24th instant. Kanhoji was then halted at Pissall, a village of Malpur pargana, belonging to the Girasia Takhatsing under the command of the Chief of Idar. This village is 16 kos distant from Lunawada. Kanhoji has about 7,000 troops, including Arabs, Shivram's, etc., which comprise 2,000 horse and 5,000 foot; but exclusive of 3,000 troops along with the Bhau, which consist of 1,000 cavalry and 2,000 foot.

It was Kanhoji's intention to proceed to Wadatro [?], a pargana of Jamiat Khan, and from thence to Kapadvanj; but by the success at Pavagarh of the Hon'ble Company's forces he changed his mind and seems now to intend to go to Idar, which belongs to the Raja Gambhirsing. The Bhau has one gun and two zamburaks. Kanhoji has no guns.

Mahadaji Pant has been imprisoned by Kanhoji, and his cook and karkun are put in irons. Kanhoji proposed to put Mahadaji Pant in irons also; but Shivram became security for him and prevented this design of Kanhoji's.

Our Master has not joined Kanhoji, but he shows him a pretended friendship in order to save his pargana, and waits for the Company's aid.

No. 5. Letter from Raval Gangadasji [Gangdasji], Chief of Bariya, to Major Walker, dated 21st September, 1803.

The news of this place you will come to know by my letter to Amin, jamadar; and you will be pleased to write me a letter; on that account I am yours. What can I write more? Should you require any business here, please to communicate to me thereon. *Friendly*

No. 6. Letter from Gangdasji, Chief of Bariya, to Amin, jamadar, dated 21st September, 1803.

Pavagarh is taken by the Company. I am a servant of the commander of Pavagarh. My pargana is near to this fort; therefore you should tell this to Major Walker and obtain a parwanah or an assurance from him for me, also a letter to the commanding officer of Pavagarh, mentioning to him that he must protect Bariya and Rajgar parganas. *Asking aid*

Should the Company require any assistance, I shall attend with from 5 to 50 troops in their service.

Remarks in the Diary.

This vague way of numbering is familiar to the natives, and the Chief of Bariya could assist with more than 2,000 men.

No. 7. *Letter from Major Walker to the Lunawada Raja, dated 28th September.*

Promise I have received and read your letter. A detachment of English troops and Kakaji have marched against Kanhoji. Whatever is required of you to further the service, I beg you will comply with it promptly, when these troops arrive in your neighbourhood. Guard all the passes well. Be assured of no oppression or molestation to your people from the movements of our forces.

No. 8. *Letter of protection, dated Baroda, 27th September.*

Protection This to certify that the Rana Pratapsing, Chief of Lunawada, having applied for the Hon'ble Company's protection, and having by the friendly intercourse of letters declared that all his means shall be employed to promote the destruction of Kanhoji, I have, at his request and in consideration of the above circumstances, granted to him this writing, which will entitle him to the friendship of the English and of their ally, Anandrao Gaikwad.

Should the English troops in prosecution of the war against Kanhoji enter the territories of the Raja of Lunawada, they will refrain from doing the inhabitants any injury or molestation; on the contrary they may be assured of protection; the Raja on his part ordering his subjects to furnish provisions and whatever may be required, which will be punctually paid for, according to the custom and good faith of the English.

This writing is on the opposite side translated into Marathi, that the officers of the Gaikwad sarkar may also extend their friendship to the Raja Pratapsing.

1803 *Baroda, 30th September, 1803 (1803 S. & P. D. 149)*

Alexander Walker to Jonathan Duncan.

Attacking Kanhoji We must recollect with what disdain Kanhoji received our overtures when he durst hardly venture out of the Rajpipla jungles, and that he rejected successive advances afterwards, which offered him an ample pension under the Company's guarantee, with the liberty of his mother, wife and children. He refused with contempt proposals from Major Holmes to the same effect at Chupra; and after he was finally driven out of Gujarat, he treated my offers, made still in the same unvaried style of friendship, with similar disdain. If in all these vicissitudes Kanhoji has refused our friendship, how can we expect that he will accept it when he is in a comparative state of prosperity? At this moment he has confined a messenger [*Mahadaji Pant*], who entered his camp under a guarantee of safety, and who was the bearer of the most friendly tenders. Colonel Murray will therefore proceed straight against Kanhoji; but endeavour, as he comes near him, to open a correspondence, which will not however prevent him, or cause a moment's delay in attacking Kanhoji, if that can be done to any advantage.

It will only be on the approach of our troops, or after he is defeated that Kanhoji will accept of terms. The Colonel will also take care to attack Kanhoji in such a manner as may drive him into Sindia's territories and not into the Gaikwad's.

Kanhoji is not more than 70 miles from us, and the service ought not to last long. It would be improper to leave such an enemy behind us,

and he must either be gained or destroyed, before it would be prudent to advance. Indeed I do not believe it is in Kanhoji's power at present to separate himself from his confederates, unless they were included in the stipulation ; which would be impossible. But I trust you will never consent to Kanhoji being placed in a similar situation, upon even so reduced an income, as Malharrao was. If that is done, everybody here must be disgusted, and the country will neither enjoy peace, nor the Government security.

Camp Godhra, 9th October, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 149)
J. Murray to Major-General Nicolls.

1803

I have not yet got certain information of Kanhoji's motions. There is no doubt but he has left the neighbourhood of Lunawada, and I fear that he is gone to the northward ; report says to the Idar district. His object in this movement must be to penetrate on that side, and probably to join Malharrao. It is not however my intention to move in that direction till I have ascertained the views of the army collected at Ujjain. *Advance*

Baroda, 9th October, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)
Alexander Walker to James Grant.

1803

I have the honour to enclose the translation of a letter from Kakaji, in which he describes the situation of Kanhoji, and is apprehensive lest by attacking him on the side of Lunawada he should be driven into Gujarat. *News*

Kakaji's letter to Major Walker, dated 2nd October.

I am resolved on setting out on Tuesday and joining the troops. But, as Kanhoji's crowd is very considerable, some battalions should be sent on specially. I doubt not, as the Major has assured, the same battalions will arrive ; but it is better to be with the enemy, before he increases his force. I wish to be particularly informed whether the Colonel commanding be coming with five battalions, and if the Raja Pandhare and Govindba Mama are to be sent. *Asking aid*

It is said Kanhoji is at Dadli-mohri in Lunawada, but he continues not encamped in one place. He must however be attacked, and pursued, and apprehended. Do not doubt but the troops of Kadi and Patan are prepared. Yet what can they effect, when the battalions are at a distance or delay ? Urge incessantly the march of these battalions. There is a report of 5,000 Gosains, who were discharged from Jarol and Jodhpur, having descended by Luray beyond Idar. Should they join Kanhoji, it will be against us. He has already a great number, and no time should he lost in the battalions advancing. When the gun that is sent arrives, we will carry it on.

It was after the arrival of the tidings of the fall of Pavagarh that the Lunawada hostages for the payment of Rs. 25,000 fled from the tent of Muhammad Abud, when encamped at Dadali. Then all Kanhoji's horse, as it is related, galloped off after them towards Lunawada, the rest of his force remaining at Dadali. Several villages in the neighbourhood were set fire to and burnt down, and the sum of Rs. 50,000 was demanded from the Raja. *Reprisals*

Another report, now brought in, makes Kanhoji to be encamped at Sardoi Titoi. Several kasids are now out. I will communicate their *Danger*

informations. If the battalions proceed by Lunawada, he [*Kanhoji*] will come out hereabouts.

As to being on guard and preventing their descent on this country and their oppressions, our nominal strength and faith is in the Sindhis ; and it is told that here and there and everywhere are strong posts, and an army at Artasumba, whither they will repair ; and Bacha, jamadar, who is here, tells me that his parekh requires Rs. 20,000 to set all right.

Kassim's horse are getting ready, and the more moderate are already out. There are 200 or 250 of Kushaba's horse making the jamabandi of his parganas. Malaba I have made to encamp near Dehgam, whence on Amin's and Bacha's and others' arrival, there will be a move. I am going immediately after arranging a few affairs to-morrow.

If *Kanhoji* has come to Sardoi, how can you help his crossing the borders of Vijapur and Kheralu ?

1803 *Godhra, 12th October, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 149)*

John Murray to General Nicolls.

Letter

In consequence of a conversation I had with Major Walker before I left Baroda, I have written to *Kanhoji*. I have the honour of enclosing a copy of my letter. I learned in the course of this conversation that it was Major-General Wellesley's opinion that an attempt to reconcile this Chieftain should be made, and I did not think a more favourable opportunity would occur. I own, Sir, I have no great hopes of success, but nothing is lost by this step towards a reconciliation. As however it is possible that I may receive a favourable reply, I should be glad to know the utmost extent of what may be granted and the terms, on which the Hon'ble the Governor would wish that a peace should be concluded.

1803 *Letter from Colonel Murray to Kanhoji, dated Godhra, 10th October.*

Overtures

You must have heard of the large force, which is now collected for the protection of the Gujarat country, and which is placed under my command. This additional force with the experience of past events must convince you of the impossibility of disturbing the established Government of the country ; all you can hope, and that even may soon be impossible for you, is to destroy a poor village, the plunder of which will not enable you to defray the expenses of your corps.

You trust perhaps to assistance from the Maratha States at war with the English. What hopes can you entertain from that quarter ? Do not our successes prove that they cannot even protect their own dominions ? Ahmadnagar is taken ; Broach, Pavagarh, and Godhra are in our possession ; and I have this day received the accounts that General Wellesley has defeated the army of Daulatrao Sindia and Mahadaji Bhonsla, and taken ninety pieces of cannon and all their luggage.

Under all these circumstances, when at the same time the return of Fatesing to Baroda makes your claims still more distant, you ought not to expect that favourable terms should be offered to you ; but, although I am under no doubt as to the success of the war, I wish to prevent the useless expenditure of blood ; and I shall be rejoiced if through my mediation a lasting peace and friendship can be established between

the Hon'ble Company and you, and that you are again restored to your family.

You may expect the most honourable terms. I do not think it necessary to make any particular offer to you at present, or till I know if you are willing to treat with me. I trust I may find you so disposed ; and should this be the case, I invite you to send me a wakil in whom you can confide.

During the treaty it must be understood that you make no movement into the Gujarat.

Remark in the Diary.

In reply to the above letter it was on the 24th instant signified *Orders* that Colonel Murray should refer any answer he might receive from Kanhoji to the Resident, in order that the latter might communicate thereon with the Administration at Baroda and advise the Colonel how far he might be able to obtain their acquiescence in the terms, which Government could instruct the Resident to endeavour to procure their concurrence to being granted to Kanhoji, whose pretensions, surrounded as he is by a junta of disappointed and needy advisers, might not however be lowered to a scale of tractability, till he should have once more experienced the effect of our arms in the dispersion of the forces he has collected ; an object which, Government are satisfied, Colonel Murray would avail himself of the first good opportunity of realising, consistently with his necessary attention to the motions of the enemy on the side of Malwa, should intermediate events not have shown a sufficient readiness on the part of Kanhoji to lay down his arms on reasonable terms, such as the Resident would in his correspondence signify to the Colonel.

Baroda, 13th October, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)

1803

Letter from Kakaji to Sitaram Raoji, dated 9th October.

I arrived here yesterday and joined Amin saheb. Intelligence was received this evening from Kanhoji's camp that he has settled with the Raja of Lunawada, has removed from thence, and is halted at Lilodre near Malpur Modasa in the pargana of Idar. *Advances*

The karbari of Modasa has met Kanhoji and promised that he will pay him 10, or 12,000 Rs. After settling there it is his intention to proceed by Idar and descend into Gujarat by Vijapur and Vadnagar, or Palanpur and Patan ; he has 4 guns and 12 or 13,000 troops.

I have kasids employed constantly in obtaining intelligence of *Plans* his motions. I have received a letter from Col. Murray from Jeroda, dated the 5th October, who informs me that he proceeds to Lunawada, and that I must join him on the banks of the Mahi without delay. But, since Kanhoji has settled with the Raja of Lunawada, and it is his intention to come to these places, what is the use of going by Kapadvanj to Lunawada ? If I should march agreeably to the desire of the Colonel, Kanhoji would plunder the parganas of Vijapur, Vadnagar, Visnagar, etc. I shall therefore first proceed to Parantij, which is 4 or 5 kos distant from hence. I have desired Kushaba and his force to join me there. I have directed the force at Patan to come to Vadnagar, as soon as I march two days' journey forward, and after leaving the boundary of our territory I would call this force from Vadnagar to join me. I have

sent Sultan Khan with some force to the Colonel to inform him of the whole matter, and to entreat him to bring the battalions by the way of Kapadvanj. I have also written to the Colonel that Sultan Khan is well informed and qualified for this mission ; but I hope you will request Major Walker to recommend him to the Colonel, and that he will pay attention to Sultan Khan's information.

You mentioned to me that I must join the battalions without delay by the way of Balasinor on the road to Lunawada and chastise Kanhoji.

This was my intention, but Kanhoji has removed from thence 30 kos, and from Kheralu 15 kos. If I should proceed to Balasinor, he will invade, as I have said, Vijapur, Vadnagar and Kheralu. As soon as Kushaba joins me, I shall halt on this bank of the Meshvo River. I have employed kasids to obtain intelligence. If he should come to our territories, I will proceed against him ; or if he should proceed to Lunawada, I will return there ; but, if the battalions were to come to Kapadvanj, then we should march straight to Modasa.

I have further intelligence from Kanhoji's camp that Shivram said publicly that there is a force arrived at Dhar to assist them.

I believe the Colonel has no interpreter, because I received a Gujarati letter from him from Jeroda ; wherefore you should request the Major to send an interpreter. I also again request that the Major may write about Sultan Khan, that his words may receive some attention.

1803 *Baroda, 26th October, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)*

Letter from the kamavisdar and from the Company's karkun at Vijapur, dated 24th October.

Advance

Kanhoji's forces have come to encamp at Bakrol in the pargana of Idar. The place of their encampment is within twenty kos of this [Vijapur].

The people of Vijapur pargana are abandoning their homes through fear ; and some, from avarice, await the arrival of confusion to commit plunder. What can our handful (a hundred) of men do in an exposed place ?

Kakaji and Amin Saheb, who were at Parantij, have gone to Kapadvanj ; which shakes the confidence of the people and makes it appear that they are afraid to face Kanhoji without the Company's troops. The truth is they cannot cope with him ; and to avert the storm he threatens, some of the battalions the Company's must come to oppose him.

1803 *Baroda, 1st November, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)*

Resident's suggestions to Sitaram Raoji.

*Kakaji's
task*

Kanhoji is abandoned by a great part of his forces, and Abud alone remains with him with a few forces. Col. Murray and Kakaji are gone to Virpur. If there should be an opportunity, they will attack Kanhoji ; but, if that person has fled, and is but thinly attended, what would be the use of following him into the jungles ?

Therefore Kakaji should remain to oppose Kanhoji.

Virpur, 3rd November, 1803 (S. & P. D. 150)

1803

John Murray to Major General Nicolls.

I have to acquaint you that, according to present appearances, *No compromise* there will be no opportunity of negotiating with Kanhoji. My first letter, I know, was intercepted; and as I have had no accounts of the fate of my second messenger, I fear he has met with some unlucky accident. This is the less to be regretted, as I am convinced the negotiation proposed in the letter of the Government could not have succeeded, or would have become a tedious negotiation. It was upon Major-General Wellesley's plan, that of granting a liberal allowance, that I formed my hopes of success. But, as this does not appear to be the intention of Government, I shall take no further steps in the business.

It would be indispensably necessary that I should in the first instance make some promises; and as these might be in direct opposition to the intentions of Government, I shall not risk a forfeiture of my word. In the event therefore a favourable answer being received, I shall inform Kanhoji that I cannot treat with him and refer him at once to Major Walker.

Baroda, 11th November, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)

1803

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

I request you will be pleased to assure the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that, in pursuance of the instructions in your letter of the 24th ultimo¹, I shall use every means in my power to prevail on this Government to adopt such a system as is recommended towards Kanhoji, should he conform to the terms therein pointed out. I shall not, however, make any communication on the subject to the Gaikwad Administration, until the result of Colonel Murray's negotiation is known; which intention, I hope, the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will approve of. *Orders obeyed*

Camp Lunawada, 16th November, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 151)

1803

Colonel Murray to Major-General Nicolls.

As by my march against Kanhoji and his retreat the measures *Holkar helps* proposed by the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council in his letter of the 2nd have been anticipated, there remains nothing further to be said, but that I shall give every attention to counteract any movements that Chieftain may make towards Gujarat. After the precipitate manner in which Kanhoji retreated from Galiakot, I had every reason to hope that he would not soon again have appeared on the frontier. I am however disappointed, but his reappearance in force arises from a cause I little expected. As I had the honour of communicating to you yesterday, he has been reinforced by a body of Holkar's troops under Bhalchand, amounting to about 4,000 men. It is further added that the Bhau has returned, but this circumstance is not confirmed. Kanhoji is now encamped near Banswara. I wait the reinforcements, which I have ordered to join me, and the return of the Gaikwad cavalry who have left me and gone, as report says, towards Idar.

¹ See letter of September 24th, 1803.

By this junction and the language which Bhalchand holds I am afraid that Holkar has taken a decided part against us. It must be decided in a short time, and I may find it necessary to ask Bhalchand his intentions. This step however I shall delay as long as possible, and I shall cautiously avoid giving Holkar the smallest ground of complaint.

1803 *Bombay, 18th November, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 150)*

At a Consultation.

Policy The tendency of the remark by Colonel Murray in his letter of the 3rd of November being to infer that Government and the Hon'ble General Wellesley have different opinions on the subject of the terms to be allowed to Kanhoji, it is proper they should here record that, unless through the personal communications of Major Malcolm they possess no knowledge of General Wellesley's wishes respecting those terms ; and they are sensible that they have conformed to the suggestions, they have thus been favoured with, in as far as appeared to them to be their true object and spirit ; of the particulars of which Major Malcolm having been from time to time apprised, they have no reason to doubt that he is not satisfied with the course of instruction that hitherto passed on this subject ; which has certainly been, at the least, sufficiently moderate on the part of Government ; considering that, while we are thus holding out additional offers to Kanhoji, he has treacherously seized on an authorised emissary of the Baroda Resident and detains him in his camp.

1803 *Camp, 1st December, 1803 (S. & P. D. 151 1803)*

Major-General Wellesley to John Murray.

Flight By letters received this day from the Government of Bombay I am happy to observe that you will soon be relieved from the fruitless pursuit of Kanhoji, and that the Resident at Baroda is exerting himself to bring into field a respectable body of Maratha cavalry. Whatever may be the success of those exertions, you will be enabled by the flight of Kanhoji to join Major Holmes at Dohad, and I conclude that you will have commenced your march to that quarter as soon as possible.

1803 *Bombay, 12th December, 1803 (1802/03, F. P. 13)*

Bombay to the Court of Directors.

Terms rejected In the former part of this letter we have adverted to the menacing position assumed by Kanhoji on the north-east frontier of Gujarat, in view to which and to the obstruction thence arising to the movements of our troops towards Ujjain, the Hon'ble General Wellesley had suggested through Major Malcolm the expediency of conciliating with that Chief, on which ground our President conveyed instructions to Major Walker to endeavour to effect this object, so as to leave Colonel Murray at liberty to act with the greatest possible accumulation of means for the general purposes of the war against Sindia and his allies ; and it was accordingly concerted between the Resident and the Colonel (both however concurring in opinion that negotiation would prove ineffectual) that an attempt should be made by the latter to open a correspondence with him ; but, although this was done, and that too in terms calculated to lead the insurgent to expect liberal treatment,

the overture yet produced no good effect, a result which occasioned the less surprise, since, while thus endeavouring to adjust with him, he had seized on, and detained in his camp, an authorised emissary on the part of the Resident at Baroda, to whom he had given the assurance of a safe conduct.

Under these circumstances Colonel Murray marched from Gohdra against Kanhoji ; but, after he had arrived at Bakrur within two marches of that Chief's position at Galiakot, accounts were received of his having on the preceding day retired thence to Sagwara beyond the limits of Gujarat, and close upon Jaswantrao Holkar's frontier, a circumstance which led Colonel Murray to desist from the pursuit, lest he should infringe the neutrality then understood to be observed by that Chieftain ; but understanding, afterwards that a body of Holkar's troops to the amount of about 4,000, under a commander named Bhalchand, had joined Kanhoji, Colonel Murray ordered detachments from different parts of Gujarat and Surat to join him, that he might be prepared for events ; in view to which it is our intention in a subsequent part of this address to notice such further information as may on the subject be received before closing our present dispatch.

Dohad, 19th December, 1803 (1804, S. & P. D. 154)

1803

John Murray to Major General Nicolls.

I have the honour to acquaint you that I yesterday received an answer to the letter I wrote to Kanhoji some time ago. The Brahman, who brought it, appears much in his confidence. From the tenor of the letter I am of opinion that he will not accede to the terms the British Government would grant. He seems to aspire to the masnad and offers to make large concessions in our favour. Such conditions are, I presume, inadmissible ; and I shall inform him so and break off the negotiation. He delayed answering my letter for some days in hopes of hearing from his vakils who accompanied Bhalchand [to] Holkar's camp. *Claims*

Camp at Dohad, 21st December, 1803 (1804, S. & P. D. 154)

1803

John Murray to Major-General Nicolls.

It may however be proper to state that my advance from Balasinor to Virpur was merely to induce the Gaikwad sardar to advance to this district, to which I had repeatedly pressed him in vain. I did not expect that Kanhoji would have remained in his position, and I proposed to return from Virpur to Lunawada, after establishing Kakaji in the Virpur pargana, in order to prosecute the invasion of Malwa. Contrary however to my expectation, Kanhoji did not alter his position, judging probably that I should not pass the defile of narrows. I had then hopes of bringing him to action, as I understood he was strongly posted and pressed by the Arabs to engage. For this reason I altered my route and marched to Bakrur. A few hours after Kanhoji heard of this march, he retired with precipitation and did not halt for several days. I judged a further pursuit impolitic, and that it would occasion a great loss of time, and of course again turned my attention to the expedition into Malwa, which would long ago have taken place, but for the defection of the Gaikwad cavalry. *Retreats*

1803 *Bombay, 26th December, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 152)*

Remarks of the Bombay Council on Kanhoji's movements.

Holkar helps Recurring to the correspondence of Colonel Murray, that officer proceeds in his same despatch of the 13th of November to advise that the capture of Malharrao by the separate officers of the Gaikwad Government placed the province of Gujarat in a state of tranquillity, and that Kanhoji had gone beyond Banswara and was retreating, that Chieftain's troops being still deserting and his numbers greatly reduced.

This intelligence was however followed almost immediately after, viz. on the 15th and 16th of November, by the Colonel advising General Nicolls from his same camp in Lunawada that a body of 4,000 of Holkar troops under Bhalchand had joined Kanhoji, and that one of his retainers, called the Bhau, had also returned; the whole being said to be encamped together near Banswara, and that another body of Holkar's troops was reported to be moving to Gujarat on the side of Idar. Wherefore it was now the Colonel's intention, to move, when joined by his afore-mentioned reinforcements and the Gaikwad cavalry, against these united corps, instead of proceeding as before implied in the direct road to Ujjain. Colonel Murray appears to have been at this period under the impression that Holkar had taken a decided part against us.

In a further letter from Colonel Murray of the 26th of November, dated likewise from his camp at Lunawada, he reports, that Bhalchand, the commander of Holkar supposed to be in league with Kanhoji, had gone off with his force to the north-east, whilst Holkar had himself marched with a body of 15,000 men from Udaipur towards Dungarpur; adding that Kanhoji had encamped in the Salumbar pargana, the Bhau being within a few kos of him; and Bhalchand was then at Dungarpur. From these movements the Colonel thought that Holkar had taken Kanhoji under his protection; observing that what his farther views might be, it was not easy to discover.

1803 *Baroda, 28th December, 1803 (1804, P. D. B. M. 63 A)*

Alexander Walker to N. B. Edmonstone.

Kakaji At present the dominions of the Gaikwad Raja are in a state of tranquillity. The Raja's illegitimate and rebellious brother, Kanhojirao, however, hangs upon the north-east frontier, but a division of the Gaikwad troops under Raghunath Mahipatrao [*Kakaji*] is appointed to remain in that quarter to check the return of the enemy into Gujarat.

1803 *Dohad, 28th December, 1830 (1803, P. D. B. M. 63A)*

Dhwanji to Sitaram.

Abandoned A pair of kasids returned on the 27th December from Kanhoji's camp, which is on the south side of the Mahi. Bhalchand Vani had been with him, but Holkar called him away. Shivrām and Muhammad Abud are with him. Their wants are great. Their distance from Dohad is 40 kos. I have dispatched another pair of kasids for intelligence from the same quarters.

1804 *Dohad, 18th January, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 154)*

John Murray to Captain Hook, Military Secretary at Fort William.

Negotiations Soon after the capture of Godhra, I entered into a correspondence with Kanhojirao Gaikwad with the view of effecting a reconciliation, a

measure which I know had been recommended by Major-General Wellesley. I have the honour of enclosing the letters which have passed on this occasion numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. I request you will be so obliging as to lay these letters before His Excellency, and at the same time acquaint him that in compliance with my invitation Kanhoji has sent a Brahman as vakil, who is now in my camp.

I have had one interview with this Brahman; and although the result is not so satisfactory as I could wish, I am not altogether without hopes that a reconciliation, on many accounts so desirable, may yet take place.

The legitimacy of Kanhoji's birth, an acknowledgment of his right by the Peshwa on some solemn occasion at Poona and the dislike of Anandrao Gaikwad to the present Diwan were points on which the vakil wished to insist; and he seemed to place much dependence on promised assistance from Holkar. With respect to this latter point I assured him that, if Holkar with his whole army was in his Master's camp, it would make no alteration in the terms to which His Excellency the Governor-General would consent, as the British Government were never actuated by fear; and that, if I placed any reliance on what he said, it would be sufficient to put an end to the negotiation. When he wished to enter on the other topics, I declined all discussion as having no reference to the terms on which I had offered to treat in my letter of the 25th December.

Having again solemnly repeated the purport of that letter, and ascertained that the vakil clearly understood my meaning, I requested him to point out what his Master's wishes were; and assured him that, if consistent with the interests of those to whom we are bound by treaty, they should not be neglected. In answer he informed me that he was not authorised to make any proposal whatever, and I could not prevail upon him to say what even in his private opinion would be acceptable, although he repeatedly insisted that several arrangements might be made, to which his Master would willingly consent.

In my letter of this day's date I have still avoided any express proposal. I should wish it to come from Kanhoji, because I do not find myself authorised to offer such terms as would, I believe, be acceded to. The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council at Bombay some time ago directed that I should be guided in this negotiation by the information I should receive from the Resident at Baroda, to whom I was directed to communicate the terms which Kanhoji might propose. Major Walker has since informed me that it was agreed in concert with the Gaikwad Government that Kanhoji should receive 2,000 Rupees per month, that he should reside in the Company's territories, and, in a subsequent letter, that this income might be increased if his behaviour merited it. Major-General Wellesley's opinion was, I believe, that a fort and a district of country should be given him; and if I was authorised to make this offer, I should hope that it would be accepted.

I make no doubt that it is evident to His Lordship how very desirable it is that an end should be put to this domestic war. Kanhoji is a rallying point for the disaffected in this country; and although he may never be enabled to establish himself in Gujarat, he may harass

the country to keep an army in the field ; of the advantages he may derive from this mode of warfare Kanhoji does not appear ignorant.

No. 1. Letter from Colonel Murray to Kanhoji.

See letter from Colonel Murray to General Nicolls recorded on 12th October, 1803.

No. 2. Letter from Kanhoji to Colonel Murray, dated 7th December, 1803.

Kanhoji obstinate The letter which you sent has arrived, and I understand all that you said to the Brahman.

In the letter it is written : "You should make friendship with the English, which will be good ; assistance need not be expected from the Maratha sardars, who are unable to protect their own territories." And lastly : "Fatesingrao Gaikwad is brought to Baroda."

Thus it is written in the letter, but the Brahman's verbal relation differs ; be it so ! As to making friendship with the Company, if you (meaning the Company) being the servants of the sarkar (the Gaikwad sarkar or himself) will perform the services that I (Kanhoji) shall point out, we should be the most perfect friends.

What does opposition avail to you ? Were you to think so, and bear me that goodwill, which the world would approve, and put into my power my thieves (alluding to the Diwan, and others in office) at Baroda, and elsewhere, then quarrelling would cease.

You have written, with a view to depress me, that my younger brother, Fatesingrao, is come to Baroda ; to which I can only say he is my own ; and if he carries on the karbar or ministerial duties, it will not distress me.

As to the Maratha sardars being of no use to me, you will know that, as they are engaged in war now, they have fought before ; and what were the consequences ? If you are candid, your writing and words ought not to differ. If such a letter (that is a letter directed according to the writer's wishes as before intimated) be sent by you, someone will come to confer with you ; the essence of the whole is that, if candid and sincere, all will be well.

No. 3. Letter from Colonel Murray to Kanhoji, dated 25th December, 1803.

Ultimatum I have received your letter and understood its contents. You wish me to speak with candour and promise me to answer in the same way. I have therefore to inform you that it will not be in my power to agree to the terms you seem to expect, and I will not mislead you by making any promise which I cannot fulfil. I do not know to whom you allude when you mention your enemies at Baroda ; but of this I am certain that the British Government will never consent to give up any persons who are under its protection.

When I mention the success of the British arms, it was not with a view of intimidating you, but in the hope of convincing you that the friendship of the British Government was more eligible than its enmity. The uninterrupted victories, which we have obtained over the armies of Daulatrao Sindia and the Raja of Berar, ought to convince you of this truth. It is unnecessary to draw this correspondence to a greater

length. I shall therefore inform you that the only terms to which I can agree are that you should return into Gujarat, where your family shall immediately be restored to you; and that you shall receive a pension, guaranteed by the Hon'ble Company, suitable to your high rank and elevated situation in life.

The place of your abode and the income you shall receive will easily be settled, if you agree to the terms which I have the honour to propose to you.

No. 4. Letter from Kanhoji to Colonel Murray, dated 4th January, 1804.

After compliments and the assumption of the usual titles of Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur, and requesting a continuation of epistolary intercourse. The letter you wrote me, I had the pleasure of receiving. *Queer
reply*

In answer to this I reply. The contents of your letter and verbal communication made to me by Amptha Trivedi I understand. If you are sincere in your intentions to effect a reconciliation, and write genuine expressions of friendship (unalloyed with anything painful), everything then will succeed. You have mentioned your victories over Sindia. Such is often the fate of States. This is a subject on which one ought not to bestow a thought or deem worthy of exultation. You write me regarding my family, and residence. If it is the will of God, both are attainable.

No. 5. Letter from Colonel Murray to Kanhoji, dated Dohad, 18th January, 1803.

It gives me much pleasure to acquaint you that your vakil, Sadashiva, is arrived safe in my camp. He has delivered to me the letter entrusted to his care, the contents of which I understand. *Overtures*

In the letter which I addressed you some time ago, I meant to be explicit, and you cannot have misunderstood my meaning. With what confidence could you enter into any treaty with the English, were they to break their faith with those to whom they are solemnly bound? Would you not have reason to suspect that in your turn you would become the victim of their treachery?

I must therefore again repeat that it is the determination of the British Government to support the Government of the Gaikwad, to whom they are bound by so inviolable a friendship.

Still, however, I may hope that your interests and those of the State may be reconciled, for which my best endeavours shall not be wanting; and it will give me a real pleasure to be the instrument of reconciling you to your family and of procuring tranquillity to the inhabitants of Gujarat.

To obtain this desirable end I have requested your vakil to point out what establishment you would require, consistent with the declaration I made in my former letter. He declares to be without your authority to enter on the subject.

It is to be regretted that he is not vested with full powers, because at once the negotiations might be brought to a conclusion. I have already informed you that you shall receive a settlement suitable to your dignity, and such as is consistent with your honour to accept. Point out to me what you expect, and I will with candour acquaint you

whether your wishes can be acceded to or not. I request therefore that, in your answer to this letter or to that which accompanies it from your vakil, you will make such proposals as will at once terminate this negotiation in an amicable manner.

If they exceed my powers, I will tell you so ; and at the same time I will lay them before the British Government, who, I am assured, would, on this as on every other occasion, prefer an amicable adjustment to an appeal to arms.

Allow me to thank you for the release of Mahadaji Pandit. I shall follow the example of generosity by the release of Chandram, whom I have confined for carrying on a correspondence with officers of your camp.

I have only to add that, although it may be my duty to oppose you in the field, I shall be at all times happy to prove my esteem for your character by exectuing any service which it may be in my favour to render you.

1804 *Baroda, 23rd January, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M. 63A)*

Alexander Walker to A. D. Edmonstone.

*No com-
promise* I have been favoured by Colonel Murray with a perusal of his dispatch to the Military Secretary on the subject of a negotiation with Kanhoji. This subject is so closely connected with the interests, with which I have the honour to be charged in Gujarat, that I hope to stand excused in respectfully submitting to His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General-in-Council some details respecting the means of effecting a pacification.

I have in this view the honour to enclose copies of two letters to Colonel Murray which will convey to His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General-in-Council the specific terms, on which the Gaikwad Government is disposed to treat with Kanhoji, and the consequences which, I conceive, would inevitably attend his establishment with any portion of power within the limits of the Gaikwad territory.

Kanhoji's present adherents are composed of the most malignant part of the Arabs who were expelled from Baroda, and of men who have opposed our progress in Gujarat and have always been hostile to the native Administration. Malharrao and Ganpatrao exhibited in Gujarat an imperium in imperio, but the extinction of their power first established the interior tranquillity on a solid basis. It is to be apprehended that the same scenes of disturbance and violence would be renewed, if Kanhoji should be admitted to settle within the limits of the province and to occupy a fortified place.

In this case it would be impossible to exclude his followers, who are of the most obnoxious description ; and we might soon expect to see them engaged in a predatory warfare with the surrounding districts that remained to the Gaikwad State.

Exclusive of these objections and of those that are urged in the enclosures, I request that you will be pleased to represent to His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General-in-Council that the Gaikwad finances cannot support a territorial alienation without sacrificing some of the principal objects contained in the instructions of His

Excellency to the Bombay Government under the 15th of December, 1802.

In my intercourse with this Government I have constantly held the principles of these instructions in view, and had successfully prepared the Administration to conclude a definitive treaty on terms of advantage. I hope in a short time to present a plan that will provide for a regiment of cavalry, and to offer for consideration such arrangements as will effectually reform the Gaikwad expenditure.

In stating these circumstances perhaps prematurely, I trust to the indulgence of the Most Noble the Governor-General.

No. 1. Letter from Alexander Walker to Colonel Murray, dated Baroda, 25th November, 1803.

I have lost no time in communicating to the Diwan your expectation of Kanhoji submitting himself and of learning the ideas of this Administration on that event. The sentiments of this Darbar are in favour of granting a provision to Kanhoji, provided he would retire into a private station and give sufficient security for his peaceable behaviour in future. Overtures for accommodation on these principles have been repeatedly made to Kanhoji by the Company's Government, which at the same time pledged itself for the faithful performance of the stipulations.

Baroda terms

On the following conditions the Gaikwad Government is still willing to accommodate its differences with Kanhoji :—

1. That he shall abstain from and renounce the use of the titles of Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur.

2. That he shall separate himself from his present adherents, and entirely renounce their friendship, nor hold any kind of intercourse with them.

3. That he shall (with a few attendants) place himself under the protection of the British Government and return to Bombay, where he shall reside in perfect liberty and receive such provision as is here undermentioned.

4. When he has placed himself under the English protection by repairing to their camp or any British station, his mother and children shall be restored to their freedom.

5. Having complied with these conditions, a monthly salary of 2,000 Rupees will be allowed Kanhoji, which shall be paid to him regularly from the Company's treasury, the Gaikwad Government assigning funds for that purpose.

These are the outlines of the conditions which this Government is disposed to grant to Kanhoji. They appear to me sufficiently favourable and well calculated to maintain the peace of the province. This object can only be effectually preserved by the retreat of Kanhoji to Bombay, since he can offer no security that could answer for his future conduct, if allowed to reside in Gujarat.

Means, I imagine, might be taken to increase the allowance, although it is more than you think likely to satisfy him, viz. what the expense of a corps for one month is more, probably that he will expect yearly.

It may be observed however that 2,000 Rupees a month is more than the clear personal allowances of any man under this Government, and three times the income of Kanhoji when he was a member of it,

unless during the period of 4 and 5 months that he usurped it. I should not despair also of obtaining further indulgence, as soon as Kanhoji gives any substantial proof of his sincerity.

No. 2. Letter from Major Walker to Colonel Murray, dated 20th January, 1804.

*Walker's
views*

The cession of Patan to Kanhoji is out of the question, and Ahmadabad still more so. The latter is a divided possession between the Peshwa and the Gaikwad. The former is the principal possession that remains to this Government. The cession of any fortified place or of any tract of territory will hardly in my opinion be attainable, and would, if practicable, be attended with all the consequences that Lord Wellesley found fault with on the establishment of Malharrao at Nadiad. I am indeed firmly of opinion that Kanhoji cannot remain anywhere within the Gaikwad territories without continually exposing the tranquillity of the country and drawing on us, besides, the resentment of the present Government. It is one of the first principles of our connection with the Gaikwad State to maintain the integrity of its dominion.

The Administration are very sensible of the advantage of coming to an agreement with Kanhoji, and would make him a pecuniary allowance equal to their means, or consistently with the rights of the legitimate members of the Gaikwad family. They are at this time fixing an establishment for Fatesing, Kanhoji's acknowledged superior, but they may be prevailed upon to put them on the same footing.

The allowance for Fatesing will not exceed 2,000 Rupees a month. If Kanhoji receives a larger sum, Fatesing will expect at least as much. By showing an undue preference to the former, we should but drive the latter into rebellion [*against*] or disgust [*with*] the Administration, and perhaps unite all these parties against us. In short, we should beware of compromising for a temporary agreement with Kanhoji our own interests, which are so closely connected with those of preserving the goodwill and confidence of the present Government. My views of riveting this confidence and of securing further the Company's power in Gujarat by procuring additional concessions of territory must be materially affected by improper concessions to Kanhoji.

We should also recollect that Kanhoji has done us all the mischief he was capable of, that he has not sought an accommodation until he sees us at peace with the Marathas, and the whole of India, after a series of the greatest victories, at our feet. His prospects and his means are now both limited. He ought therefore to accept, and if we have patience, he will be reduced to the necessity of accepting a pecuniary allowance sufficient to support him in affluence, but which will leave us nothing to apprehend from his ambition.

I have already communicated the result of my conference with the members of this Government in respect to the terms they are disposed to grant to Kanhoji.

Should he object to reside in Bombay, the next eligible place for his abode is Surat; but, if he could be prevailed upon to retire to Bombay, it would remove one of the difficulties in the way of increasing his pension, as there he would be removed from the jealousy of his family and at a distance from the factions that exist in Gujarat. I have no

doubt but you will endeavour to make the most of Kanhoji's present disposition, if it is sincere, of which you will be able to judge before this letter can reach you ; and I shall, be assured, do everything in my power to prepare the minds of the Administration here to second your efforts.

Dohad, 24th January, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 155)

1804

Sheodat, vakil of Kanhoji, to Jonathan Duncan.

From Baroda, first a letter came from Major Alexander Walker to the address of Kanhojirao Gaikwad Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur, together with a vakil on the part of the Gaikwad Government ; secondly a letter from the said Major for the said Rao came to Sagwara ; and a third letter from this said Major for the said Rao reached him at Burgurra by the hands of Mahadaji Pant. In all, three papers came, but Kanhojirao did not confide in the sardar of the Hon'ble Company ; wherefore he did not write any answer ; instead of which he placed Mahadaji Pant under guard. Since then Colonel Murray sent a letter by a Brahman from Dohad, which fell first into the hands of an Arab, who tore it, and brought the Brahman before Kanhojirao, saying : "This Brahman is come for the purpose of a spy, cut off therefore his nose." Wherefore I interfered and by great exertions got the Brahman set at liberty. The Brahman was then told to bring another letter ; and he did so. After that I caused a letter to be written by Kanhojirao to Colonel Murray ; and the Brahman proceeded with it ; and the same Brahman brought back a letter from Colonel Murray, importing a guarantee or safeconduct. After this, Kanhojirao, having called before him the commandants, the Arab jamadars, and his three brothers and all his sardars, held a council and asked them what they had to advise on the letter thus received from Colonel Murray, desiring him (Kanhoji) to dispatch a vakil, and transmitting a safeconduct or passport for the vakil in question. To this all the sardars replied thus : "Maharaja, we confide not in the English hat-wearers. They have used great deceit towards you and the Gaikwad raj ; and the Diwan, the servant of the Gaikwad, does also side with these hat-wearers, who give out that they have come into Gujarat through the invitation of Anandrao Gaikwad. If Anandrao Gaikwad had possessed capacity to conduct the affairs of the raj, why should the Peshwa and the Nana Fadnavis not have committed to him the charge of the raj, whereas the Peshwa has given to you (Kanhoji) the masnad or authority, and the sicca and katar or seal and the sword to Anandrao ; all which will no doubt be known to the Hon'ble Company. Notwithstanding which, Raoji Appaji who was a clever minister, conceiving you to be very turbulent, concluded that you would strip and mulct him ; to prevent which, he, for the good of his own family, connected himself with the Company, and sank the Gaikwad raj ; whence there is no justice in the Company's house, or if there were, why should they connect themselves with dishonest people ? The hat-wearers are not therefore to be trusted ; wherefore we are against your sending a vakil." In this way did all the sardars give their counsel. After which, standing up, and joining my hands, I addressed myself in the open Darbar to Kanhoji in the following terms : "Oh, Protector of the world ! be pleased to attend to one repre-

Sheodat's arrival

sensation I have to make ; whatever they all have said is true ; but from Baroda three letters have come from Major Walker, and three letters have also come from Colonel Murray, and a Brahman has likewise arrived with authority to carry back with him a vakil." The Brahman heard also that I this delivered ; and I continued by observing that, since the Major and Colonel had thus sent such frequent letters, it would be certainly necessary and advisable for him (my said Master) to make peace ; for that the world in general allowed that in the Government of the English hat-wearers, there was no injustice, but on the contrary its opposite ; injustice lurking only with the French ; adding that I had also abided at the port of Surat, and was not unacquainted with the English Company ; neither were the English people to circumvent, although the Diwan and the mutasaddis must have misled them, which was sufficient to account for the state of things ; but that having now attained to a more accurate knowledge of circumstances, it was therefore that they had been writing these re-iterated letters. Upon all which I proposed to my Lord and Master to select some fit person to send on this mission.

The Maharaja said : "Hast thou then full confidence ?" and on my answering in the affirmative, he spoke to two or three Deccani Brahmans, who happened to be sitting there, inviting them to proceed, one or two of them, on this embassy ; but they replied that, should the Maharaja lay his commands on them, they would go to Lanka¹, but that into the camp of hat-wearers never would they enter. The Maharaja then told me that, as I took on me to praise the hat-wearers, I should go to them. To which order submitting myself, I reminded the Maharaja that the Brahman of Major Walker was in confinement, and entreated he might be enlarged. Whereupon the Raja smiling said : "This man being about to be sent to the English, it is therefore that he is thus endeavouring to gain a good reception from them ;" saying which, he ordered Mahadaji Pant to be set at liberty from the guard that was over him. After that, applying for my leave to depart, the Maharaja said : "Do you now go, and learning what Colonel Murray thinks fit, and what may thereon strike you, you will write me ; or otherwise, if you see no prospect of accommodating matters, you are to pay your respects and come away." He then wrote a complimentary letter to Colonel Murray, and I came away on the 8th of Paush Vad, on a Thursday.

At which juncture, all the sardars of Kanhojirao, jeering me, said : "You are now going with a betel in your hands to the English ; take care that you come not back without your errand." I replied that under your auspices no doubt I must succeed. They then all desired me to go and to write to Kanhojirao whatever I should see best for the cause ; and accordingly on the 3rd of Magh Sudh I had an interview with Colonel Murray. The Colonel received me with suitable honour and civility, and evinced towards me the greatest attention and favourable kindness, and I was made extremely happy ; and I have written a letter to my Master, as has Colonel Murray another ; and after the receipt of the Rao's letter we shall enter on the discussions. When I was setting out,

¹ Capital of Demon Ravana.

the Maharaja wrote also a letter to Major Walker; and should per adventure peace not take place immediately, I will in course of time and by perseverance bring the matter to bear.

Camp, 31st January, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 155)

1804

Kanhoji to Jonathan Duncan.

Knowing everything to be well and prosperous here, do you also let me frequently hear of your welfare. Many days have elapsed since I have had a letter from you; the cause of which I am at a loss to understand. Heretofore one or two letters have been written to you from hence, which were but short and in abstract, and no reply has been received, although no doubt they have reached you. Now Colonel Murray has written to me that he is my servant, and that it is fit to establish friendship between us, and that I must be friends with the Company, and without contradiction to send a vakil. To this effect letters have arrived. Wherefore letters have been sent from this [place] to the Colonel aforesaid, and discussions will have passed between him and my vakil, as you will have learnt from the writing of others. *Summary of events*

Heretofore I had advanced as far as to the districts of Modasa with the requisite appurtenances on my way to Gujarat, and from thence vakils had been dispatched to bring troops; and their letters had arrived, advising of their near approach with the same and desiring me to halt till they came up and joined me, to the end that we might proceed all together in full force into Gujarat. I therefore went back, and the consequent interviews took place; after which I was concerting the advance into the province of Gujarat, when from Dohad letters reached me; whereon I was desired by him (the writer) to address letters to you in Bombay and to Major Walker, to be forwarded through the said correspondent; wherefore it is that the present letter has been written to you. Before also I sent letters, which at the instance of the purvo, you have replied to, which is well. The reciprocal friendship that was established since the time of Fatesingrao, now in Paradise, you have not preserved, and are proceeding in improper courses at the instigation of delinquents; which in a domestic concern is not suitable. Who am I, and wherefore do I wander abroad? Respecting which, you have not [been] well advised; and yet among your people nothing but a just course of procedure is usually allowable; but I cannot conceive how the part you are now pursuing can be received as the right path. An answer to this letter. Speedily will I arrive with an army in that quarter.

Baroda, 12th February, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M. 63A)

1804

Alexander Walker to N. B. Edmonstone.

Since I had the honour to address you on the 23rd ultimo, I have received letters from Kanhojirao Gaikwad and from an agent of his, who has been with Colonel Murray. I have the honour to forward translations of these letters for the information of His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General-in-Council, together with a minute of the conference with the bearer of the one from Kanhoji. *Kanhoji replies*

These letters cannot be considered but as dubious signs of Kanhoji's disposition or, at best, as those of a mind vindictive and ambitious,

dictated in a style neither suited to his own nor to the relations of the English and Gaikwad Governments. I have, notwithstanding these objections, thought it best to return answers to both letters, in order to keep open every channel to accommodation, and with a hope of drawing declarations of a less equivocal nature regarding his ultimate intentions.

After I had dispatched the answers, I received from Colonel Murray, who has the original in his possession, the copy of a second letter from Kanhoji to my address, a translation of which I beg likewise to lay before His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General-in-Council, and trust that I shall stand excused in not troubling His Excellency with any comment on a production, which bears no marks of submission nor of truth.

Kanhoji by the latest accounts is still near Banswara, on the frontier of Gujarat, with about 3,000 followers.

No. 1. Letter from Kanhoji Gaikwad to Major Alexander Walker, dated 15th January, 1804.

Proud letter Since the receipt of your letter by Joytaram I have not heard from you. Be pleased therefore to correspond with me.

Joytaram and Purjiram have now written to me of your earnest desire to make friendship with me, and recommend me to embrace the opportunity of effecting an accommodation. They will mention all matters to you, and I wish you would write me thereon.

Colonel Murray has written me once or twice. I have returned answers, of which he will advise you. My sole desire, is to have put into my possession the thieves (supposed to mean the family of Raoba and the principal parekhs) of the sarkar at Baroda. That being done, there will be nothing but friendship between you (meaning the Hon'ble Company) and me.

Goodwill and friendship have subsisted between you and me from an early period, and it is not right that the sayings of evil-minded men should be suffered to destroy it. If the right road be trodden, it will be best for both parties.

No. 2. Letter from Kanhoji's wakil.

Kanhoji's pride The wakil offers the respectful satisfaction of His Highness Kanhojirao Gaikwad and of Sadashiv (the writer himself).

The reason of writing is after one of your letters had reached His Highness my Master at Narukote, another was brought by Joytaram Trivedi, and afterwards one by Mahadaji Pant; to none of which did His Highness, my Master, having no faith in you (the Company), but believing rather you would betray him, return an answer, and he made Mahadaji Pant prisoner.

In this state of things, a letter of peace was brought from Colonel Murray. There was an order to tie the bearer to a gun, and the letter was torn to pieces. But I entreated His Highness to spare the Brahman, and he was sent back with an answer to the Colonel, from whom he came again with another letter, which also was answered. A third time the Brahman came with a letter from the Colonel, and a fourth letter arrived by the kasid from Dabhoi; and having advised His Highness to do so,

he sent a letter by the kasid to you, and enlarged Mahadaji Pant, who had been in confinement for one month. He now remains there at his ease.¹

Now Colonel Murray's letter having recommended an amicable accommodation and requested that a vakil might come in perfect safety to him, His Highness, my Master, summoned an assembly composed of the commandant (Shivram), the Arab jamadars and others, and submitted to them the above. They all agreed in saying: "Maharaja, you should not put confidence in the English. What good has Your Highness gained by the Topiwallas? Consider that, and place no confidence in them."

Thereon I, standing with my pair of hands joined, said: "Shri Pruthvinath (Master of the universe), what the Chiefs tell, may be true; but three letters from Baroda and three more from Colonel Murray manifest the disposition of the Hon'ble Company to treat with Your Highness in a friendly way; and, if ordered, I will go to make it good." His Highness hearing me, asked: "Will you trust yourself, and do you believe what you have said?" Again I joined my hands and affirmed: "Maharaja, the Diwans of the world have caused all the confusion in which you have had any concern," and asked: "But what have the Company's sardars done?" adding: "The Company's sardars having clearly seen that something wrong had happened, so they frequently wrote, and for myself I am firmly convinced of their sincerity, and shall attend them, if you are pleased to order me, or you can delegate any other agent that is more agreeable to Your Highness."

His Highness replied: "As you have faith in them, repair to their presence, represent my situation, and report verbatim your conferences, attending always to my interest; remain there, if you perceive that negotiation portends a favourable issue; or remove, and return to me, if you foresee the reverse." Such were my orders. On the 8th of Paus Vad I took my leave, and on the 3rd of Magh Sudh I met Colonel Murray, who also treated me with great politeness and kindness, and wrote you a letter about obtaining the release of my brother Parshotam from his confinement in the fort of Borsad, as I have written fully to His Highness, my Master. The Colonel too has written a letter to His Highness. When the answers arrive, we will have a conversation upon them.

Colonel Murray makes me very happy, and I hope you will do the same to my brother Parshotam and his family by your favour.

If the Almighty wishes it, be assured that I shall effect a good understanding, but it will take time, between His Highness, my Master Kanhojirao Gaikwad Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur, and the Company Bahadur.

N.B.—This letter written in the Gujarati language has no date, but was received at Baroda 31st January, 1804.

No. 3. *Letter from Kanhoji, received on the 7th February.*

Munshiram Mehta called on me to-day and delivered a letter from *Kanhoji's terms* Kanhoji with the following verbal explanations.

¹ There has been no account received from Mahadaji Pant, and his family assert that he is still a prisoner on Kanhoji's camp. [Note added in the Diary]

It was the desire of Kanhoji to make friendship with the Company if he was assured that they would protect him ; that he did not wish to alter the Government, but hoped to hold in it a situation, which would preserve his reputation or secure to him a good name ; that it was his wish to bring the Gaikwad territories into a proper arrangement, to increase the jama and to discharge the debts due to the Company.

These objects, Munshiram said, Kanhoji was earnest about, and was desirous that they should be accomplished by his means. Kanhoji, Munshiram continued, would have made these proposals sooner, but he had no person capable of giving him good advice, and from this cause has ensued so much delay ; but that he (Kanhoji) now recollected the recommendation of Damajirao to his family, when he was confined by the Peshwa, which was to effect a friendship with the English Company. By the blessing of God this was now accomplished, and he was much pleased thereby.

Kanhoji expects, Munshiram concluded, your favourable answer to his letter ; and he will then transmit a kalambandi, which, being mutually agreed upon, will be fixed and permanent.

To some inquiries, which I made of this messenger, he replied that Kanhoji would never abandon and part with his familiar friends and followers, Shivram and Muhammad Abud ; having, he observed, given to those men his guarantee in the same manner as the Company had to the family of Raoba. Therefore on coming to Baroda Kanhoji must bring them and their forces along with him. That with respect to Fatesing or others, Kanhoji would not seek to interfere, but be satisfied to carry on the affairs of the sarkar in conjunction with the English Government.

The masnad of Baroda, he said, having been confirmed to Anandrao by the Peshwa, and protected by the Company, he had no desire to alter this circumstance.

Munshiram added that Kanhoji has no dependence on the present managers of the Gaikwad sarkar, and also mistrusted the Company, because they supported this Administration ; but, should we once satisfy him on this head, his mind would be at ease, and he would come to agreement.

No. 4. Letter from Alexander Walker to Kanhojirao, dated 7th February, 1804.

Advice to Kanhoji I have received your letter by the hands of Purjiram Mehta, and have had a long conversation with him on the subject of your affairs.

I have so often had occasion to assure you of the friendly wishes of the English Government that it does not appear necessary to say anything more on that head. I have been much surprised that you doubted my sincerity, but the good faith of the Company is acknowledged in every part of the world ; and many of those, who are now with you, know how scrupulously it has been observed towards them. This principle is so fully established amongst the English that no consideration whatever will ever prevail on them to sacrifice the interests of those who have once claim on their protection. Do you once avail yourself of this protection, and your troubles in this life will be over. But what is the use of thus writing, unless you open your whole heart and as to a

friend confide to me the objects which you wish to secure by the Company's means from the Gaikwad Government ?

Write to me what you desire, and Purjiram will communicate to you what has passed between him and me on this occasion.

No. 5. Letter from Alexander Walker to Sadashiv, dated Baroda, 9th February.

I have received your letter from Dohad, which had no date ; but I *Advice* have fully understood what you have written.

I am glad that your Master, Kanhoji, is now convinced that his doubts of the Company's good intentions towards him have been without foundation. These suspicions could only have got possession of his mind from the councils of bad men and from not being sufficiently informed of the character of the English nation, which never stoops to deceit. But you are by this time enabled from your own observation to give Kanhoji better information and a juster view of his situation. Let him reply with equal frankness and declare the secrets of his mind. You know that Gajrabai and Ganeshpant are not only protected but maintained in affluence at Bombay. Then how can Kanhoji be apprehensive, when his friends are publicly supported in this manner by the Company ?

I have brought your brother, Parshotam, to Baroda, and he is now living under my care. It will be your business to give Kanhoji wholesome advice and to inspire him with the resolution of embracing the Company's protection, which will effectually secure him from future misfortunes. If you succeed in this, it will also produce honour and advantage to yourself.

No. 6. Letter from Kanhojirao to Major Walker, dated 18th Sawal, February, 1804.

It is long since I have heard from you. I have written to you once *Queer* or twice letters conveying my wishes, to which I have received no *letter* answer.

Colonel Murray has now written to me, saying : "I am your servant, we must bear goodwill to one another, and obtain the friendship of the Company ; to discuss this object you must let a vakil come to me without any fears." On the arrival of a letter to this effect, I dispatched a vakil to him. The Colonel will have communicated to you the purport of the conferences.

When I before came near to Modasa with a view of entering Gujarat, attended by the army, I sent a vakil to bring more troops.¹ He (the vakil) advised me : "I have brought an army and am near, you must not therefore advance till a meeting be held, and we will go in company to the province of Gujarat." In consequence of this advance I came back, and held a meeting ; the resolution was fixed of coming to Gujarat, when a letter from Dohad reached me, in which it was written : "You ought to address letters to the Governor of Bombay and to the President at Baroda, and forward them to me." I have accordingly now written this letter.

¹ This probably refers to the intercourse which Kanhoji held with Holkar or his officers and the expectation he had of assistance from him. [Note in the Diary]

I must suppose that you did not acknowledge the receipt of my former addresses from an attention to the expressions of the Prabhu (meaning Diwan Sitaram Raoji) ; and under that impression I lament that the friendship, which has uniformly obtained in the bosom of your Government to our family from the days of Fatesingrao Gaikwad, should be thrown off and changed into an improper line of conduct from the opinions of bad men. This is certainly not the part of a friend.

Who am I? Why do I wander abroad? These questions your councils do not embrace. In your tribunals it is unusual to determine on deeds without due deliberation and inquiry. But I deem the conduct, that has been pursued towards me, to have been adopted without deliberate investigation. Further particulars you will learn of in Colonel Murray's correspondence. I beg you will send an answer. I am with my army coming quickly into that country. What need is there to write more?

1804 *Camp, 13th February, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 155)*

Colonel Murray to Major-General Wellesley.

Kanhoji's terms rejected I have the honour to acquaint you that I have dismissed the vakil of Kanhojirao Gaikwad. The terms proposed by him were such as could never be admitted by the British Government.

I have the honour to enclose a copy of a letter which I received from Kanhoji on the 8th instant ; the enclosure No. 2 is a copy of my answer.

Previous to the dismissal of the vakil, I had a conference with him of considerable length, from which I plainly perceived that Kanhoji would not at present accept such terms of peace as we are inclined to grant.

Before I entered on the business, I pointed out to the vakil the impropriety of several parts of the letter to me, as well as of several expressions in those which accompanied it to Mr. Duncan and Major Walker. He attempted to explain them, and offered to withdraw the letters, or alter the objectionable parts ; as a palliation he alleged that his Master was obliged to write in a way to please those who were about him.

Having in reference to Kanhoji's letter requested to know what he had to propose, he stated that he was instructed to demand the management of the government as his right, that he should be permitted to enter Gujarat with his army, and that the enemies should be given up to him.

It required little deliberation to assure him that not one of the conditions could be granted. The vakil then requested that I should state what were the conditions of peace, offered him by the British Government. In answer I acquainted him that Kanhoji should be permitted to enter Gujarat with such followers only as were necessary for the support of his dignity, that all Arabs were expressly excepted, and that a revenue should be assigned him, sufficient to support the dignity of his situation in life.

It was here asked what his revenue should be ; and before I gave an answer, the vakil proceeded to state the very great expense Kanhoji must naturally incur ; in the first place he took notice of the expense of his army to Shivram ; he next observed that he was bound to pay a very large monthly sum ; and lastly that there were a number of the

princes of the Gaikwad house, who had attached themselves to his fortunes, and that these must through his means be provided.

With respect to the two first articles, I observed in return that, as he would not be permitted to have an army, it was unnecessary to provide for its support, concluding that the engagements with Shivram were for military service ; and with regard to the third item of expense, I informed him that, as it would not be admitted that he was the head of the family, nor indeed did he pretend to it, I could not see that he was at all bound to support its splendour ; and lastly I told him that, as Fatesing was the person of the highest rank in the country, I did not conceive that a larger provision would be made for his Master than for the prince. He proposed that Patan or Kadi with additional districts should be given up, and that in return he would engage that the Arabs should be dismissed, provided it was not made an express article of the treaty. I did not feel myself authorised or inclined to this proposal.

The vakil then informed me that he had one other arrangement to propose : he began by stating that the possessions of the Gaikwad family were more extensive in former times than at present, and desired to know if we would oppose any attempt in Kanhoji to recover such districts as do not now acknowledge the Gaikwad authority ; he alluded, he said, to Kathiawar. This was inadmissible on every account. Sind was then pointed out as a country in which Kanhoji was desirous of settling, and that he would undertake its conquest with the assistance of our troops ; to a measure of that nature I could not of my own authority comply. The conference then broke up, and the vakil was informed that he should on the next day receive a letter for his Master, and that he must quit the British camp. *Proposals*

In spite of the exorbitancy of the conditions proposed by Kanhoji, I perceived an anxiety to make peace ; from which I am led to suppose that at a future period with a slight extension of what is now proposed to grant, this intestine war may be brought to a termination.

Some of my harkaras returned yesterday from Kanhoji's camp. An officer of distinction with about 40 or 50 horse had arrived there from Holkar, but with what intention my emissaries could not learn.

No. 1. Letter from Kanhoji to Colonel Murray, dated 18th Shawal.

After compliments, the assumption of the usual titles, and recapitulating the contents of Colonel Murray's letter to him, of the 19th of January, 1804, he proceeds as follows : *Complaint*

These are the contents of your letter. Three years have now elapsed since disputes have arisen in our family. Raoji sent Mir Husain-ud-din and called the English troops ; at that time Malharrao's vakil went to Cambay on my behalf, also a vakil named Ganesh Vinayak came from Surat with Mr. Duncan, and held verbal communications with him. At that time Mr. Duncan said : "I am not come to take Kadi, you shall be satisfied ; and on your part do not pass beyond your boundaries." Your vakil also went, a meeting took place, and conciliatory conferences ensued. After this the English troops marched against Kadi, and the next day Babaji Appaji marched also and followed. You approached, and an action occurred, and you took Kadi by unfair stratagem. In like manner you possessed yourselves of Sankheda,

and with a view of carrying me off a battalion came to Ranepur, but your hopes of success were frustrated. What is passed cannot be recalled. If you sincerely desire to be on amicable terms with me, hearken to the propositions my vakil will make you ; which if acceded to, we shall be friends. I have in four or five letters, which I have already written, expressed my designs. Which of these objects is it your wish to make the basis of our friendship ? Write me on that head.

You have written I should be on terms of friendship with my family and not disturb the tranquillity of Gujarat. The short of the matter is, if you fix that the profligates should be surrendered to me, a meeting with my family and tranquillity to Gujarat will with facility result. It is several days since I released Mahadaji Pant. It is at his own desire that he remains. I have written to Bombay to Mr. Duncan, and to Major Walker ; forward the letters.

If it is your sincere desire to be reconciled on the terms I write you, you will not find me deficient on my part. A very long established friendship has existed between us, let this be taken into your most fraternal consideration, and settle everything to my satisfaction. I await the reply to this letter, when I will advance with my troops, I hope, under guarantee and in peace, and that our friendship may eternally exist.

No. 2. Letter from Colonel Murray to Kanhoji, dated 11th February, 1804.

Terms rejected I have received your letter and understand its contents. It appears to me to be unnecessary to recur to what passed when the English first entered Gujarat, and still more to accuse them of taking by stratagem what they captured by the sword. It would have been well to have avoided several of the expressions in your letter to Mr. Duncan and Major Walker, of which I have endeavoured to make your vakil sensible, and have particularly requested him to observe that on no occasion did I write we are your servants, although I professed myself extremely willing to forward your interest, when it is compatible with the interest of those with whom we are connected by solemn treaties. Overlooking however all these circumstances, I proceeded to require of your vakil the terms on which he was authorised to treat ; and as they are not at all conformable to my letter of the 25th December, you cannot be surprised that I have deemed them inadmissible.

Your vakil cannot be ignorant of such terms as will be granted, and to him I refer you. Sadashiv has on this important occasion shown himself a zealous and steady friend to his Master and has urged everything that could be suggested in favour of the cause he has espoused. Accept the assurance of my regard.

1804 Baroda, 14th February, 1804 (1804, P. D. 63A)

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

Report I request you will be pleased to lay before the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the enclosed paper which I have drawn up for the information of Colonel Murray, who expressed a desire to be made acquainted with the present political circumstances of Gujarat and with the principal objects affecting either our own or the interests of the Gaikwad State.

These remarks have been occasionally offered to Government, but they are here collected, and the subjects brought more under one view

than they appear in the separate communications, which have been made respecting them.

I have stated my opinions unreservedly on our interests in a country, to which I have given a long and anxious attention. In proposing the application of our powers to the attainment of objects which I deem advantageous to our interests in Gujarat, I trust that I shall not be understood to exceed the limits of my duty. I submit this prospectus of our affairs with great deference and cannot presume to decide whether the measures I have suggested can be applied to accomplish the objects that are discussed; but, if circumstances will permit these operations to be undertaken, they would in my humble opinion secure the tranquillity of Gujarat and improve our interests conjointly with those of the Gaikwad State.

Walker's remarks, dated Baroda, 7th February.

1. We have three objects principally to attend to at present in *Objects* Gujarat, and which are all ultimately to be secured by the disposition *in view* of the troops. I shall first enumerate them and offer a few remarks on each, and then show in what manner they may be provided for.

2. The extinction of Kanhoji's rebellion, the support of our interests at Baroda and the prosecution of those which relate to ourselves or to the Gaikwad Government in Kathiawar comprise what we have chiefly to consider. These objects are closely connected with the prosperity of Gujarat, the consolidation of our own power and the maintenance of interior order.

3. The rebellion of Kanhoji may be put an end to by negotiation *Policy of* or by prosecuting hostilities against him. The first method would *kindness* deserve the preference, if it promised any hopes of success. A review *useless* of the various and uniform efforts which have been made to reconcile Kanhoji, furnish a series of facts, the only data on which we can form a correct opinion.

4. When we were invited to take a part in the affairs of Gujarat, the Government was in the hands of an aristocratical faction of uncivilised Arabs, and the country was a prey to intestine wars. The party of Kanhoji had been but lately overthrown, and he was in close confinement. The first measure of the Company's Government, and before it embraced a side, was to ascertain the question of lawful right. It was ascertained by the most indubitable proofs that Kanhoji was an illegitimate son of Govindrao, and that he was junior in years, besides, to Anandrao, the eldest legitimate son of Govind, who was consequently the heir of the masnad.

5. The cause of Kanhoji was not abandoned, nor did this discovery abate the zeal of the Bombay Government to effect his release or to obtain at least some kinder usage in his confinement. This object was urged with so much perseverance to Raoba, the late Diwan, that he sacrificed his personal enmity, perhaps his judgment, to set Kanhoji at liberty. The Raja concurred in the plan, and the design of removing Kanhoji to one of the Company's settlements was communicated to the Arabs, who had charge of his person. It is unnecessary to trace back the tergiversations of the Arabs and the treachery which they practised on this occasion; but they at last also formally consented to

place their prisoner at the disposal of the Gaikwad Government, which had agreed to transfer him to the charge of the Company.

The perfidy of the Arabs defeated this measure. The guards of that nation evacuated the fort in which Kanhoji was confined, and carried him along with them ; but he was still in their power ; and if he was no longer treated as a prisoner, he remained in the doubtful situation of a hostage.

A train of events followed, which it is likewise unnecessary to recapitulate, but it is even now uncertain whether Kanhoji is entirely free from restraint and at liberty to negotiate without including his followers.

6. It is said that Kanhoji was always averse to prosecute a connection with the English Government ; but during his confinement he was apprised of our good wishes and the efforts which we made in his favour. It was not until he escaped with the Arabs that we had any direct intercourse with Kanhoji.

Shortly after that event the Hon'ble the Governor of Bombay addressed a friendly letter to him, as did Ganeshpant, his friend and Diwan, write another in a very impressive manner. I forwarded these letters to Kanhoji, and wrote him at the same time. The object of all these letters was to inspire Kanhoji with a just degree of hope, to give him the best advice, and to offer him the Company's mediation.

The steps to effect a reconciliation with Kanhoji were adopted and pursued with the full concurrence of the Gaikwad Government. It may however be observed that this was rather in compliance with our views of propriety than from a conviction that this early application to Kanhoji would be attended with success. Those who were best acquainted with his character asserted that he must be punished by misfortunes, before he would listen to moderate terms ; but, although these afterwards fell heavy upon him, they did not produce the effect which seemed to be implied in this opinion.

At this very time Kanhoji's fortunes were sufficiently humble. His followers were few ; he had neither been joined by Muhammad Abud nor by Shivram ; he was obliged to look for his security in the jungles, and earned a precarious subsistence by plundering the defenceless villages.

7. At this time, when Kanhoji must have suffered considerable distress, his reply to the letters, which I have mentioned, was not only insolent but bordering on contempt. He sent no answer to Ganeshpant, but intimated to the Governor and to me that this Pundit's letter was fabricated, or that having him in our power we had compelled him to write what best suited our purpose.

The manner in which the letters were received also deserves notice. The messenger found access with difficulty and not without danger and insults. A person received the letters, and threw them immediately on the ground in the most disdainful manner. It was alleged that the English conveyed spells and incantations in their letters ; wherefore it would be dangerous to open them. After a great deal of scoffing language, a person at last ventured to take the letters off the ground and to read them to Kanhoji, who never once touched them himself.

I have been the more minute in mentioning these circumstances as they occurred on the first overtures which we made to Kanhoji, and

have in some degree attended every attempt to negotiate with him since.

8. Notwithstanding these unpromising appearances, a friendly arrangement with Kanhoji was never lost sight of, and every favourable opportunity was embraced to bring him into the same dispositions. Major Holmes, who commanded the forces in the field, was authorised to address him, and received only a jeering reply. My letters were treated in the same manner, or remained without any acknowledgment.

I was still anxious to effect an object, which made part of my instructions, and which was so well calculated to secure the peace of Gujarat. I endeavoured to discover some agency, which might be more efficacious than my letters. I procured some Brahmans of Dabhoi, who were known to be in correspondence with Kanhoji, to undertake this mission, but this effort failed like the rest.

I next employed Mahadaji Pandit and sent him with a letter and special instructions to treat with Kanhoji. This attempt was more unfortunate than any of the others. Mahadaji Pandit was seduced by a promise of safety from Kanhoji to enter his camp, where he was treacherously made prisoner, and notwithstanding he was a Brahman was threatened with death.

In this situation stood my correspondence with Kanhoji when Colonel Murray succeeded to the command of the troops in Gujarat.

9. The letters, which Kanhoji has recently written to Colonel Murray, are more explicit, but they bear no signs of submission. They unfold his views, which aspire to the government of Gujarat or to the independent possession of a part of it.

The letter which Kanhoji's vakil has thought proper to write to me, barring the insolence of its style, acknowledged with some candour that it will be a work of time and difficulty to accomplish a peace with his Master. It appears also from this person's letter that Mahadaji Pandit is still in Kanhoji's camp, residing, as the writer observes, at his ease. But, as he has neither apprised me nor his family of his being liberated, I must still consider him *[to be in]* a state of confinement.

10. In reviewing these transactions it may be objected that the offers of the Gaikwad Government had not been sufficiently liberal, and that they are clogged with too many restrictions. On the other hand it may be urged that the offers to Kanhoji are equal to the public means, that they are sufficient to maintain him in affluence and comfort, that they place him in respect to allowances on the same footing with Fatesing, the next heir to the gadi, and that the restraints were absolutely necessary to secure the peace of Gujarat. For the last 30 years this country has been torn by civil dissensions, all arising from disputed successions and the establishment of separate authorities within the bounds of the Superior State. The Gaikwad Government had but recently been indebted to the British arms for the suppression of these authorities; and having leased the Peshwa's rights depending upon Ahmadabad they hoped by this possession of an undivided power that the interior tranquillity of the country might remain long undisturbed. The introduction of Kanhoji into the heart of Gujarat, under any modification, must renew the former scenes of anarchy and disorder, since we may expect the same causes to produce the same effects.

On the part of Kanhoji there exists an avowed and implacable hatred to the present Administration; and if the latter appears more moderate in its resentment, this is probably to be imputed to the influence of our milder councils. What hope could be entertained of a durable peace by bringing parties of this description into contact and constituting them members of the same society?

11. The only solid security for the peace of Gujarat was to render Kanhoji's interests distinct and independent of the local authorities. Under this impression a provision was proposed to him, which should be paid by the Company, and we were to become the guarantees of his future safety and honour. This was the principle on which the Bombay Government wished to interpose, and I scarce doubted of possessing sufficient influence with this Administration to prevail on them to adopt it also. If Kanhoji objected to this principle, it was expected that he would propose another, and disclose, or suggest the terms on which he would lay down his arms.

12. This expectation has been disappointed, and Kanhoji has not yet condescended to mention the terms on which he would treat. Uncertain therefore of his intentions, I have had no proposition to submit to this Government, and have had no grounds on which I could enter into a discussion, in order to render any part of their terms, which might be unpleasant to Kanhoji, more palatable. But, although Kanhoji has not met the propositions that have been made to him by any counter proposals, we can hardly be ignorant of his views. These are disclosed by his open assumption of the titles which belong only to his brother, Anandrao, and are implied or but thinly veiled in his letter to Colonel Murray. We can hardly require a more express testimony that Kanhoji's views extend to his brother's throne; and there are grounds even for thinking that he believes us capable of sacrificing the present Administration in order to place the government of Gujarat in his hands.

This idea has been encouraged by the anxiety which we have shown to treat with Kanhoji; and our justice and moderation, instead of inspiring him with corresponding sentiments, have but raised his confidence and augmented his importance.

Kanhoji's position 13. There remain two questions for consideration in respect to Kanhoji.

First. Is he at liberty, supposing him so disposed, to come to terms, without stipulating conditions also for his followers? I am of opinion that he is not at liberty, unless he was to take the decisive step of flying from his own camp, perhaps singly and as from an enemy, until he could put himself under our protection. This measure would not be easy of execution. Every man in Kanhoji's camp is interested that he should not escape from them, and he could scarce perform such a design without exciting suspicion or causing discovery.

The Arabs are the usual guards at his tent and over his person. Their jealousy is perpetually awake, and they no doubt look on the possession of Kanhoji's person as an indemnity for what has passed or as a security for the sacrifices, which they have made in his service.

Second. Is Kanhoji disposed, supposing him at liberty, to come to terms, without stipulating conditions for his followers? I am of opinion that he is not disposed to abandon his associates and to commit

towards these men so great an act of treachery as must deprive him in future of the support of all others. Admitting that Kanhoji is not perplexed by scruples, yet it is not an easy sacrifice to cast off, and separate himself forever from, those who have raised him to his present consequence.

The objections against entering into a treaty with Kanhoji's followers appear to me insurmountable, independent of the dangerous example of a successful rebellion. The Arabs have already broken their capitulation at Baroda, and Shivram with the rest of the leaders has committed robberies and offences, which it is impossible to forgive. Besides this, the price of satisfying them would either be money on the pretence of arrears due from Kanhoji, or to admit them again into the Gaikwad service. *No treaty*

21. Having thus stated the most material objects we have to provide for in Gujarat, and explained the principal difficulties that attend them, I shall proceed to mention by what means they may be secured or accomplished. *Measures*

22. If a peaceable arrangement can be effected with Kanhoji, so much the better; but I am led to think that to induce him to any reasonable accommodation, we must first obtain some decisive advantage over him. If it were practicable to make a few active marches, before the army breaks up, unincumbered by baggage or artillery, we might disperse his followers, or by obliging them to retire further, give them more unequivocally the appearance of defeat.

If this plan cannot be pursued, we must have recourse to defensive arrangements, such as will prevent Kanhoji returning into Gujarat.

The forces under Kakaji, reinforced by the Diwanji's, will make a considerable corps for this purpose; but to render them respectable and to impress Kanhoji with a proper degree of apprehension, it will be necessary that a body of our troops should act in the same quarter. It is not necessary that this should be a very large body, but sufficient to keep the enemy in check, should he advance into the province, until reinforcements can be sent as they are required.

P.S.—Since this paper was written, I have received two letters from Kanhoji under different dates. It may be remarked in general that the style and sentiments of both are in the highest degree reprehensible. His object and expectation are evidently to treat with the Company's Government on the footing of a lawful and independent Power. *Offensive letters*

With such an impression, there is no room at present to hope that Kanhoji will submit to the terms, which have been proposed to him, or even to any modification of them, consistently with the internal tranquillity of Gujarat. To Kanhoji's first dated letter, which is the least objectionable of the two, I have returned an answer in order to preserve the channel for accommodation open as long as possible and to draw a more explicit declaration of his ultimate views. I have also for these reasons replied to his vakil.

Bombay, 14th February, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 155)
Jonathan Duncan to Major-General Wellesley.

1804

Respecting Kanhoji, it may be here premised that the general turbulence of his character has notoriously been such as to have obliged *Kanhoji's history*

his father, the late Raja Govindrao, to place him more than once in a state of restraint ; under which he was at the period of his elder brother Anandrao's accession. Notwithstanding which, by his influence with the Arab soldiery and his professions of attachment and submission to his senior, Anandrao, he speedily effected on that occasion, not only his own enlargement, but the acquisition of the diwanship or ministry under his brother, from whom he soon however engrossed all the powers of Government ; evincing, during the two months that he was thus allowed to reign, the most decided indisposition against certain points of accommodation¹, which this Government had been instructed by His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General-in-Council, to obtain from that Darbar.

When through the violence of Kanhoji's administration Anandrao and the chief civil and military officers of the late Govindrao's Government joined in subverting his shortlived direction of the affairs of the Gaikwad State, he was thrown by them into confinement ; and the mediation of the Presidency having soon after taken place for the purpose of supporting the loyal Government of Anandrao, it formed one of the objects of our interposition at the period to procure the release of Kanhoji, and that he should be secured in the receipt of a stipend for his subsistence, upon condition of his remaining quiet and not seeking to disturb his brother's Government ; which you will find to have been in exact conformity with the sentiments of the Supreme Government as contained in the accompanying 54th paragraph of the commands of His Excellency-in-Council of the 15th of December, 1802. But before this desired enlargement could, on these grounds, be effected, he by a new intrigue, which he set on foot with the Arab mercenaries, wrought his own liberation, and has since been in arms with the avowed design of recovering his usurped control of the State.

To reclaim him from which conduct, the Resident at Baroda first addressed him a letter under date the 9th of December, 1802, as I myself soon afterwards did under date the 18th of the same month, accompanied by a letter from his former confidential minister, Ganesh Vinayak, as per copies enclosed ; to which all the answer, that this ambitious pretender deigned to return, will be found in the accompanying transcript of his letter to me, dated the 16th of January, 1803. In consideration of which unaccommodating spirit on his part, His Excellency the Governor-General-in-Council was addressed by us on the 28th of the last cited month and year in the terms contained in the accompanying copy ; and the war has, on the footing thus indicated, been since carrying on, until, during the late hostilities with Sindia and the Berar Raja, you were pleased to communicate your ideas to Major Malcolm on the expediency of conciliating with Kanhoji at the expense even of higher terms than either the Supreme Government or the Administration of this Presidency had during another course of events meditated in his favour ; which having led to correspondent communications from me to Major Walker, and from the latter to Colonel Murray, the last mentioned officer has since communicated both with you and the

¹ The cession of Chorasi and the Surat chauth, insisted on by the Bombay Government in spite of the treaty clauses safeguarding the integrity of the Baroda territories.

Supreme Government on the subject ; and lest you should not be in possession of all the sequel of this correspondence, I take this opportunity to transmit a copy of Colonel Murray's letter to the Military Secretary to the Government General, under date the 18th of last month, and of Major Walker the Resident at Baroda's address of the 23rd following to Mr. Secretary Edmonstone on this protracted question ; respecting which I had understood from Major Malcolm, a few days before his last departure from this Presidency, that he was well convinced you did not mean to urge or enforce any embarrassing terms of accommodation with Kanhoji ; in view to which and to the nature of the case, the latter proceedings on this renewed negotiation were consigned chiefly to the correspondence between the Resident at Baroda and Colonel Murray upon the principle, which I am happy to find recognised in your own latest instructions to the last mentioned officer, that it was necessary to consult the Gaikwad Administration at Baroda, since the concessions to Kanhoji must be made good by them.

Nor, after the receipt more especially of the Supreme Government's commands of the 23rd of November, should I have been forward to interfere in a matter that might perhaps be deemed to be taken out of the hands of this Government, had not Colonel Murray's present transmission of the extraordinary letter, that he has forwarded from Kanhoji's wakil, obliged me to pursue the present method of apprising you of its receipt, and of requesting to be favoured with your sentiments as to whether it may be expected of me to take any and what steps, by remaining silent, or replying to it ; my own inclination leading to the former course, but without any repugnance to follow that course which you, Sir, shall think most conducive to the good of the public service.

Baroda, 17th February, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M. 63A)
Alexander Walker to James Grant.

1804

I request that you will be so good as to inform the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that I have had the pleasure of a meeting with Colonel Murray, who proposed the following measures, which appear to me very judicious and calculated to provide for the several objects of service, to which they relate. *Measures proposed*

The immediate object of consideration was to repulse Kanhoji, or to prevent him from disturbing the tranquillity of Gujarat, and to support or assist Kakaji in case it should be necessary.

To answer both these designs Colonel Murray will direct the march of the forces that remain in the field across the Mahi, and take up a position on the banks of that river or not far from it. It is likely that he will then advance a corps to Virpur, which is between Lunawada and Modasa, and in the neighbourhood of the routes by which Kanhoji will most probably attempt to return into Gujarat.

As these movements are also in the directions of Kakaji's operations, it is expected that they will produce a considerable influence in his favour. Should this prove otherwise, the troops will be in a very good situation to support him ; and Colonel Murray assured me that this object will engage his particular attention.

The Diwanji's forces had been ordered to join Kakaji, and I have instructed Lieutenant Carnac to see this measure carried into effect.

1804 *Bombay, 27th February, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 155)*

Jonathan Duncan to Major-General Wellesley.

*Duncan's
policy*

I have been favoured with your letter of the 22nd of February and have the pleasure to transmit a copy of the letter, I have in consequence written to the vakil of Kanhoji, of which Colonel Murray will be furnished with a copy and with another, for his information and guidance, of your communication now acknowledged.

Kanhoji and his agent being likewise in correspondence with the Resident at Baroda, I shall transmit my answer to the latter, with instructions to have the Marathi version of it added there by Mr. Surgeon Drummond, now acting as Secretary to the Residency, and who is a much better Marathi scholar than is to be met with at the Presidency. Major Walker will then avail himself of a fit opportunity to forward the letter thus completed, after showing it to Sitaram, the Minister of Anandrao; whose Darbar having been a good deal disturbed by the apprehensions arising from our apparent solicitude with Kanhoji, their being thus made privy in the first instance to the present reply will compose their minds, and improve that attachment which Sitaram in particular has not failed to evince on all occasions to our Government.

Having lately forwarded a letter from Kanhoji myself, which that Chieftain appears to have written at Colonel Murray's instance, I shall wait for your opinion before I reply to it, especially in view to the menacing strain with which it concludes, the effect in a considerable degree of the overbearing influence of the rude rabble, within whose grip he now finds himself placed, and conformable to whose advice and well-seeming, his vakil admitted to Colonel Murray, that the style of his letters must be conceived.

1804 *Bombay, 27th February, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 155)*

Jonathan Duncan to Sheodat.

*Duncan's
regrets*

I have received the letter you wrote to me from the camp of the very respectable Colonel Murray, and am concerned to find that Kanhojirao, your Master, is not disposed to accept of the terms that I had intended to grant to him. It had always been my desire to see a suitable provision made for all the sons of the late Senakhaskhel Raja Govindrao Bahadur, now in Paradise; in which view I fruitlessly sent on my first proceeding to Surat for Murarrao through the agency of his own father-in-law, intending to have procured a suitable monthly allowance for him and for Mukundrao, whose family are still maintained by the Hon'ble Company at Surat, notwithstanding that for these 2 years past he has been, to little account indeed, in arms against us; and upon the same principle I would have been solicitous to provide for Kanhoji, whose confidential servant, Ganesh Vinayak, and relation, Gajrabai, are to this moment honourably entertained here at the charge of the British Government.

Your expressed desire to induce your Master to listen to reason is to your credit; but whilst he continues surrounded by those that now control him, it is in vain either to correspond with, or to expect from him such a conduct as might be for his own advantage.

Baroda, 6th March, 1804 (1804, P. D. 63A)

1804

Kanhoji's affairs.

No. 1. Letter from Sadashiv, wakil of Kanhoji, to Major Walker, dated 28th February, 1804.

Colonel Murray assured me, on his going to Surat, that he would *Request* represent affairs and get them arranged, which you will know of.

My Master has written to me, saying : "Colonel Murray's good offices I am sensible of, but Major Walker at Baroda is better acquainted with all that has happened. Do therefore obtain a bhandari from the Major, and repair to him." As my wish to see you is great, and from a firm belief in your declaration of the credit I shall gain by my successful exertions, I beg to receive your bhandari, signifying full freedom to my egress and ingress, which will prevent wicked people stopping my progress, and I venture to affirm that all will end well, but it will take time.

I will make Mahadaji Pant stand before your face in a few days. He will inform you of what are verities, and what are falsehoods.

I trust you will take care of my brother Parshotam. I am acquainted with the Company's character for justice, and flatter myself that our conferences will fulfil my prediction of peace and amity, although you only know your own determination.

All the sardars of His Highness think thus : "It will be for our good that our Master does not make friendship with the English." Thence the difficulties ; but in time, though slowly, they will be surmounted.

No. 2. The joint report of Kundu and Bapu, kasids in the employ of Major Walker, dated 6th March, 1804.

On reaching Kanhoji's camp, lying about 30 kos to the north east of Lunawada, we had an opportunity of surveying at leisure the whole. *Kanhoji's forces* We in the first place contradict the report of 10,000 troops joined from Holkar, as from the best authority not more than 400 horsemen, under Sadashivrao, a Brahman, who, we were told, is a commander in the service of Holkar, are encamped close to Kanhoji's people. The whole are encamped on the banks of the river of Myha, a branch of the Mahi, and near the village of Babarana. We conceive the whole of the fighting men to be 4,000 ; two of these may be horse, and the remainder foot soldiers, consisting of Arabs, Pathans, and Marathas. From the great scarcity of grain in the country they are much pushed for provisions. We had an opportunity of seeing Shivram and Kanhoji celebrating the anniversary of the Holi. Muhammad Abud we did not see, but know he was there.

It is currently reported in, and about, the camp that more troops from Holkar are about to join ; but for the veracity of this we cannot vouch, though we well know none of Holkar's troops are near, except the aforesaid Sadashiv's small party. Mukundrao, the brother of Kanhoji, is there with about five and twenty or thirty horse, and these compose the whole and only men of consequence with Kanhoji.

Baroda, 9th March, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M. 63A)

1804

Alexander Walker to Sadashiv.

As an agent from Kanhojirao Gaikwad can be of no utility at *Advice* Baroda, unless Kanhoji shall manifest a sincere disposition to renounce

his present course of life and to submit himself to the mediation of the Hon'ble Company's Government, I have not transmitted the bhandari or passport, which you requested to enable you to pay me a visit here.

Having exerted your powers on his behalf, it will now be much more to the purpose that you repair to the place where your Master is, and relate to him the written and verbal communications, which you have had with English Gentlemen of rank in the course of your mission, and impress upon his mind a firm conviction of their candour. He ought already to know that the character of the English Government is just and generous to those who put their trust on it.

1804 *Baroda, 20th March, 1804 (1804, P. D. 63A)*

Mahadaji Pant's affairs.

No. 1. Letter from Mahadaji Pant to Major Walker, dated Babarana, 1st March.

Request I have obtained my release ; but from the state of the country, its deep jungles, and danger of travelling, and no one to accompany me, I have been obliged to stay here. It is at present in agitation that Navji patel should come to Baroda.

He is a clever man, and I think through him matters will come to light.

I would therefore that a passport came for him without delay, on receipt of which we will both set out for Baroda.

No. 2. Walker's comment.

Comment It is plain that Mahadaji Pant is still detained in Kanhoji's camp, notwithstanding the repeated declarations of the latter and of his vakil that this agent was restored to liberty.

I judge, from this application and from others that have been made to me on the part of Kanhoji for permission to depute a messenger to Baroda, that he is anxious to renew the negotiation ; and I dare say that he will in time see the necessity of submitting to such conditions as may not be inconsistent with the future tranquillity of Gujarat.

No. 3. Letter from Alexander Walker to Mahadaji Pant.

Walker's terms I have received your letter stating that you cannot come on account of the difficulties in the road, and that you are staying there of your own free will. I must observe that the road is not blocked up, and you have no business to stay there without orders.

You request a passport for Navji Gowli, whom you praise as an able agent, and propose returning with him. I have to answer to this that, if the said patel is to come with full powers from Kanhojirao Gaikwad, you must first inform yourself of their views with particularity and repair to this place. When such views are understood, a passport will be sent for the patel Gowli.

1804 *Banswara, 31st March, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M. 63A)*

Mahadaji Pant to Major Walker.

Mahadaji's account When I left this place [*Baroda*], I proceeded to Lunawada, where I delivered your letter to the Raja, who treated me with great care and kindness.

I stayed some time at Lunawada, when I wrote to you, Sir, what I heard of Kanhojirao Gaikwad. Distrusting reports and hearing that Jaswantrao Jivaji Bhau with ten thousand troops and some artillery had joined Kanhoji, I determined to go and see what was really the case. In this view I wrote to Kanhojirao Gaikwad that I was deputed by you, Sir, to him and had your letter to his address, which I would come and deliver in person if he permitted me. I wrote at the same time to Shivram Jagdish that, if he would give me assurances of safety, I should pay them a visit. I received an answer from Kanhojirao, requesting that I would come on without any fears, and observing that a letter of assurance from Shivram was sent. Shivram's letter however never reached me. But Madhavrao told me there was no danger, and I went along with him to Peith, where the army was encamped. Madhavrao preceded me into camp, and sent out kasids to call me by Kanhoji's directions. I answered the kasids that I would not enter the camp without Shivram sending for me. After which a jasad from Shivram came and showed me to his Master's hut.

I was well entertained with my attendants the first day. On the second day I showed your letter sealed and superscribed to Kanhoji. He called Sadashivrao Marne Deshmukh, who opened and perused the letter. He carried the letter to Kanhoji. After this, sentinels were placed over me. Two karkuns, named Khandopant and Balajipant, came and took an account of every article in my bag. They took Rupees 21, which I had about me. The next day they carried away my Gita pothi (a hymn book) with other papers tied in a handkerchief. They also carried away a good sword and, two days afterwards, my horse, which they put into their paga. All these proceedings were contrary to the will of Kanhoji; but surrounded by a set of men, who persuaded him that my correspondence with Baroda would be fatal to themselves and to their families, he was obliged to submit.

When I was under sentinels, Jaswantrao Bhau called me in the presence of Kanhojirao, Shivram, Muhammad Abud and eight or ten more persons, and desired me to communicate particularly the objects of my mission from the English. I expostulated against delivering any message in the state of a prisoner, which I did not expect to be made contrary to the laws of nations on my arrival in the character of an ambassador. Jaswantrao Bhau admitted the truth of my argument, and advised that I should speak, and be allowed to return the road I had come, if my propositions were not accepted. Kanhoji here addressed me: "You are a Deshpande Bhau, and our fathers were like brothers; your coming here then from the English seems to place you out of your station. But be it so; tell what you have to say."

I answered that the English were not now to injure the Gaikwad, with whom they had long maintained a friendly correspondence; and as an instance of its obligations to the English I stated that they had given back the Surat athavisi to the family, which Govindrao at Poona had parted with to the Peshwa. I assured him that they wished for his father's sake to comfort him, and asked what faults he had to charge the English with, who were preserving the government and rights of Anandrao Gaikwad Samsher Bahadur, with whom he ought to be on good terms; the accomplishment of which, I concluded, constituted the grand object of my mission. I was however not loosened nor relieved

from restraint for some time after this in the month of Paush, but walked about with the army, being told, when I asked for my horse, to mount an elephant. On my recent departure thence my horse, etc. was restored to me.

I do not know what Sadashiv said when he was with you before. It was Kanhoji's wish that your passport to Navji Gowli patel should arrive, and that the patel and I should come together. I accordingly wrote to you to that effect, fearful that any objections on my part would subject me to confinement again. Sadashiv several times wrote for my being sent back, holding out to Kanhoji that it would conduce to the speedy settlement of his affairs. To these pressing letters I attribute my being sent back; for, notwithstanding what Kanhoji wrote, he had no real intention to let me depart from his camp. Kanhoji called and adjured me not to relate the rigour I had experienced in confinement, assuring me that he sincerely sympathised, saying: "You are acquainted with the troubles which I have experienced. Go therefore," he continued, "and get the Major's passport for Navji Gowli to come to him and to declare my wishes. Do you, too, endeavour to get my affairs arranged; this is but a proper duty." He thereon presented me with a cloak and turban and Rupees forty for my expenses on the road. He begged it as a favour to keep my sword and scissors. I told him that the Arabs had robbed me of everything. He replied: "What good can be got by speaking to Arabs?"

He gave me leave and five sepoys of Shivram's to escort me, and some others on the road; which they did, and delivering me to the care of guides, they went back to camp.

On my obtaining leave and coming away from Kanhoji I observed to him that he had very properly begged of me not to complain of my confinement to Major Walker, saying that "the English Government is contemplating the state of your country with a desire to improve it. The English and your predecessors have been old friends; and wishing well to you, Major Walker sent me here. The present object is not beyond their reach. They reckon not on Sindia's strength, the Bhonsla's or Holkar's; and what other is there to cause them uneasy thoughts? Trust therefore to them for your own good. If you look elsewhere, you will be deceived."

Kanhoji replied: "I have suffered much distress, the Almighty has authorised it, but my fate is yet before me. To this day I have not supplicated of any man; nor mean I to do it in time to come. You are Deshpande and by descent a brother as it were. I have therefore set you free, and request that you will in repairing to the presence of Major Walker desire him to send a passport, and I will dispatch Navji Gowli to explain my wishes to him, that matters may be arranged according to what by both parties shall be admitted as fair and suitable. I will reserve my assent till I am informed of the progress of negotiation."

The karbaris or counsellors and ministers of Kanhoji are Sadashivrao Deshmukh, Shivram Jagdish, Navji Gowli and Muhammad Abud.

Shivram commands his advance guard, and determines the ransom of villages, and regulates expenditures as well as receipts.

The Arabs share a half of all regular contributions, and Shivram divides the remaining half with Kanhoji. Individuals are allowed to keep what plunder they find.

There are at present about five thousand troops in Kanhoji's train, composed of 1,500 Arabs under Muhammad Abud, Salim jamadar, and Musa jamadar; and 3,500 Sindhis, Pathans, Hindus and Marathas, horse and foot, under officers of their own nations.

There are three elephants in their camp, one belongs to Kanhoji, which he got from the Dungarpur Raja. The other two belong to Shivram. Muhammad Abud had an elephant, which was presented to the Jhabua Raja by Kanhoji. They have 3 or 4 small guns.

The following persons have palanquins, *viz.* first, Kanhojirao Gaikwad; second, Murarrao Gaikwad; third, Shivram Jagdish; fourth, Muhammad Abud; fifth, Buda, jamadar; sixth, Musa, jamadar, and seventh, Sadashivrao Deshmukh.

The sepoy's are allowed to quit the service when they please, and new candidates are enlisted.

At present Murarrao Gaikwad is commander-in-chief of the army. Mukundrao Gaikwad is with it. Khanderao Gaikwad left it [after] two months' service.

Jaswantrao Jivaji Bhau, a soldier of fortune, who was in Kanhoji's camp for three months, left it three months ago with his force consisting of 4,000 horse and foot and 4 guns. Bhalchand, an officer in the service of Holkar, came and conferred with Kanhoji at Babarana in Dungarpur after the departure of Jaswantrao Jivaji Bhau.

This Bhalchand presented a horse to Kanhoji and promised him the assistance of men and money from his Master, Jaswantrao Holkar. Bhalchand was accompanied by Sadashivrao Deshmukh and Navji patel from Kanhoji's camp to Jaswantrao Holkar's camp. On Sadashivrao and Navji Gowli's return two months ago to Kanhoji's camp, I heard it reported that they had said to Kanhoji that they had brought Ballapahana, an officer of Holkar, with ten thousand troops to Partabgarh and eight great guns. But that there was not a road passable for the guns, and that they could not without pioneers come on, wherefore the troops had remained there. Musa, jamadar, was thereon sent to Tukaji, Rana of Mogana to entreat him to assist the descent of the above army and artillery by promising a jagir to him. But this force, which was daily looked for, had not arrived when I left Kanhoji's camp in Banswara sixteen days ago.

It appears to me that Kanhoji's wish is not to dispute the title of Anandrao Gaikwad or to aspire to the situation of his senior now on the masnad, but to be the principal director and reformer of affairs in the Gaikwad's dominions.

Walker's comment.

This narrative will serve to establish or confirm several facts of importance, which before rested on suspicion or more doubtful testimony. *Comment*

It establishes Kanhoji's intercourse with Holkar, and that it was not until he was disappointed of assistance from him, and after peace was concluded with the Marathas, that he seriously thought of an accommodation with us.

It likewise pretty clearly appears that Kanhoji is not at liberty to follow his own intention, and that in the judgment of the writer he still aspires to the management of the Gaikwad affairs.

1804 *Bombay, 20th April, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M. 63A)*

James Grant to Alexander Walker.

Directions The present applications that a vakil should be received are not attended by any of the circumstances that demonstrate security. To receive the vakil will answer no purpose; and whatever may be the result of the present discussions with Holkar, it must have also its fully correspondent effect with respect to Kanhoji. There is therefore no occasion for departing from a system decidedly good, in order to accommodate with Kanhoji by another mode, which would after all most probably fail in producing that effect.

1804 *Surat, 4th May, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 157)*

Overtures made by Kanhoji.

No. 1. Letter from Kanhoji to Nathan Crow, dated 16th April.

Overtures I have received your letter in the Persian language, and on perusing it, it gave me the greatest pleasure. I have also received two or three letters from Colonel Murray Bahadur at Dohad, wherein he expressed that I should send a vakil to him, and that he would consult with him on the subject. Whereupon I have sent Sadashiv Sheodat as vakil; besides, I have by the same opportunity written to you and Mr. Duncan Saheb at Bombay, to Major Walker and Colonel Murray Bahadur. The vakil having met with the Colonel Bahadur, afterwards the latter has set out to Surat, when he said to the vakil that he shall send the answer of the letter, or that on his return he will write, but which he has not done yet. I have therefore sent Khandoji Hujaya and Hormusji Desai.

The former friendship commenced from the period of the late Fatesingrao Baba, and how the difference has since arisen, you are well acquainted with; neither is it necessary for me to enter here into a written detail thereof; and in the time of late Sayaji Maharaj the affairs were managed by the late Fatesingrao in good order and peaceably, and in the like manner is it my desire that they should proceed in future. I reckon Anandrao Dada in the room of my father, to whom I have not any sort of malice; and therefore it is to be considered that the friendship is to be renewed, as it was before; besides, I have wrote [*told*] to Khandoji Hujaya, who will explain to you the whole circumstances, and according to your communication I have wrote to Mr. Duncan Saheb. Patel Navji being well acquainted with all former circumstances, let an order of bhandari be transmitted for his security to me. What can I write more?

No. 2. Letter from Kanhoji to Jonathan Duncan, dated 16th April, 1804.

Overtures It is a long time since I had a letter from you, the cause of which I am unacquainted with; but it is not befitting. Let me therefore always be made happy by your letters.

Heretofore from Dohad 2 or 3 letters came from Colonel Murray, in which I was desired to send a vakil. I therefore deputed Sadashiv Sheodat; and along with him letters were transmitted for you, Mr. Crow, Major Walker and Colonel Murray; and with the Colonel the vakil had an interview and some conversation; at that time the Colonel proceeded to Surat, telling the vakil he would send an answer to the letter or reply to it when he returned. But, although he did return, no answer has

been received, wherefore Khandoji Hujaya and Hormusji Desai have been sent. Previously from the time of him, now in heaven (Fatesing Baba) friendship had taken place between us and had since continued in the same course. What had then occurred to interrupt it? This you know already; nor is it necessary to write you a detail thereof for your becoming apprised thereof. Heretofore in the time of Sayaji Maharaj, now in Paradise, Fatesingrao Gaikwad carried on the affairs of the State and preserved the same; and it is now necessary that the same course be observed. As to Anandrao Dada, I consider him as in the place of my parent and have in this respect no other intention; in view to which, let a friendly arrangement take place, such as shall preserve the current of it in its accustomed course. All other particulars I have written to Mr. Crow, and he will explain the same to you. What more need I write?

Remark in the Diary.

Upon consulting with the Hon'ble General Wellesley respecting *Rejected* the above communications, the President in concurrence therewith proposed on the 10th instant that Mr. Crow should be advised neither to admit the vakils nor to take any notice of those letters, adding that the result of the present state of affairs must include those of Kanhoji, and agreeing with the Hon'ble General that no negotiation with him could do any good.

No. 3. Letter from Alexander Walker to James Grant.

Since my last communication on this subject several applications *Kanhoji's request refused* have been made on the part of Kanhoji for leave to send a vakil to Baroda. In consequence of these solicitations, which appeared pressing, I permitted Mahadaji Pant to have an interview with Sadashiv, who resided in Savli, a pargana of the Peshwa. It appeared clearly from this interview that Sadashiv had no power to conclude an agreement, but was merely an agent as before to report his conferences to his Master and to act on such instructions as might be transmitted to him. Sadashiv however unequivocally declared that Kanhoji expected to manage the government as Fatesing did in the time of Sayaji, and to reside at Baroda with some part of his present adherents, but without affecting the dignity of the Raja Anandrao or disturbing Sitaram in his situation of Diwan.

As this proposition contained in itself an inconsistency and went to establish a separate power in the Gaikwad Administration, I rejected it as the basis of a negotiation and desired Mahadaji Pant to withdraw himself.

Before Mahadaji Pant's return I received a letter from Kanhoji, merely referring me to the bearer, who delivered a message to this effect. "Tell Major Walker that I am ready to receive his orders and to act according to his directions."

In return I wrote to Kanhoji and repeated the above message, desiring him, if it contained his real sentiments, to express the same in writing. I have received no answer to this letter.

Having sent Mr. Drummond about this time on a deputation into Nadiad, he was met at one of the Mewasi villages of that pargana by

Sadashiv ; but the result of this conference only confirmed the report of Mahadaji Pant.

I shall therefore not admit a vakil from Kanhoji until I receive some better proof of his moderation and an assurance of his disposition to accept the terms which will secure the permanent tranquillity of Gujarat and such as may preserve unimpaired the powers of the present Administration.

1804 *Baroda, 12th June, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M. 63A)*

Intelligence about Kanhoji.

Kanhoji & others Two kasids... met with Kanhoji's camp at Limri and [with] a party of 12 or 15 sowars performing mahasal¹ at Dohad, demanding a sum of 7,000 Rupees from the kamavisdar... They were informed that Holkar was encamped near Shajahanpur-Sarangpur... At Dohad they learned that the kamavisdar had an engagement with Kanhoji. Colonel Murray was at Sunth.

1804 *Baroda, 10th August, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M. 63A)*

Information about Kanhoji.

Deserted He has lately been deserted by all the Arabs in his service.

Mukundrao is still at Junagarh without force, merely accompanied by a very few of his personal followers. We fell in with no other troops in the way, but found the country perfectly tranquil. The rain has been very heavy in that direction, more having fallen than we think could have been the case here.

1804 *Bombay, 24th August, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 159)*

Information about Kanhoji.

Kanhoji's plight Ramsing and Moti, kasids, found Kanhoji encamped with his force in the centre of the town [Ratlam], this consisting of 100 horse and about 50 men. Shivram is the only sardar at present with him. There is but one elephant now remaining of the 3, one being sold, and one dead ; a number of the horse are of the most abject kind.

We remained here [Ratlam] one night and set out in the morning for Dhar. From Ratlam we reached in one day Pawar's encampment at the village of Nagda being about sixteen kos from Kanhoji and four from Badnawar. Pawar's force to the best of our judgment may consist of 1,500 men in all, of which number five or six hundred are sowars ; a detachment of 20 or 30 horse were at Badnawar. It is now 6 days or the 7th since Kakaji was at 8 kos beyond Dohad.

1804 *Baroda, 7th September, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M. 63B)*

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

Kanhoji's delegate I request you will be so good as to inform the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that, Kanhoji having lately solicited permission to send an agent to Baroda and professing that he would submit himself to the disposal of the Company's Government, I communicated this proposition to the Diwan.

¹ Mahasal sowars are not unlike punitive police.

As Kanhoji had been deserted by the Arabs and the greatest part of his adherents, it was possible in this reduced state of his fortune that he might seriously wish to avail himself of the Company's protection. Under this idea Sitaram agreed with me that there would be no impropriety in hearing what his agent had to propose. Sadashiv accordingly, under a joint passport from the Diwan and me, was permitted to come to Baroda ; but it was found that this person had nothing new to offer, and was not furnished with sufficient powers to come to a settlement.

The agent wished to remain here until he should receive these powers ; but this request was deemed inadmissible. He was therefore immediately dismissed with civility, promising that he would repair without delay to his Master, and return with the credentials which were required.

No. 5. WAR WITH SINDIA

THE documents are divided into three sections :

- Section A : Bombay preparations
- Section B : Military operations
- Section C : The Baroda contingent

Section A: BOMBAY PREPARATIONS

When the second Maratha war broke out, the Bombay Government were treated like children, only to be seen, but not heard.

The Bombay Military Establishment were superseded; Major-General Wellesley was made Commander-in-Chief, and he appointed Colonel Murray commander of the army in Gujarat.

Major Walker's plea that the Gaikwad State was not bound to come to the assistance of the Company was scouted, and his plan of campaign was rejected by the Commander-in-Chief. All that was expected from the Bombay Government was to supply every possible information and to give whatever assistance they could, both military and pecuniary. When they had been told what to do and how to do it, the Bombay Government were requested officially to sanction the various measures, which they had not concerted; and this they categorically refused.

DOCUMENTS

1803 *Fort William, 27th June, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 145)*

The Marquis of Wellesley to Jonathan Duncan.

Wellesley in command I have the honour to transmit for your information and guidance the enclosed copy of instructions under date the 26th June, which I have deemed it expedient to issue to the Honourable Major-General Wellesley and provisionally to His Excellency Lieutenant-General Stuart.

I further request that you will be pleased to transmit to the Resident at Baroda a copy of those instructions, signifying to him my desire that he will conform to the directions which he may receive from Major-General Wellesley on all points connected with the duties committed to that officer's charge by the tenor of those instructions. You will further be pleased to require from the Resident at Baroda a similar attention to the directions which he may receive from His Excellency

Lieutenant-General Stuart in the event of the transfer to His Excellency of the powers now vested in Major-General Wellesley.

Extract from the instructions of the Marquis of Wellesley to Major-General Wellesley, dated Fort William, 26th June, 1803.

I hereby appoint you [*Major-General Wellesley*] to the chief *His powers* command of all the British troops and of the forces of our allies serving in the territories of the Peshwa, of the Nizam, or of any of the Maratha States or Chiefs, subject only to the orders of His Excellency Lieutenant-General Stuart or of His Excellency General Lake.

Fort William, 9th July, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 145)
The Marquis of Wellesley to Jonathan Duncan.

1803

I request that you will employ every practicable means for occupying *Sindia's* the sea-port of Broach and any other sea-ports belonging to Sindia as *ports* well as such of Sindia's possessions in Gujarat or elsewhere, as it may be practicable to occupy by means of the troops serving at Bombay, Surat or in the Gaikwad's dominions.

Fort William, 9th July, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 145)
The Marquis of Wellesley to Jonathan Duncan.

1803

It may be proper however that you should signify to the Resident *Baroda* at Baroda that the British troops and those of our allies stationed in *Resident* the dominions of the Gaikwad are to be considered to form a part of the army under Major General Wellesley's command, and that the Resident at Baroda should communicate this arrangement to the commanding officer of those troops with instructions to obey any orders which he may receive from Major-General Wellesley with respect to the employment of the troops under his command. The Resident at Baroda should also be particularly instructed to maintain a constant correspondence with Major-General Wellesley of every occurrence within the scope of his knowledge. You will likewise be pleased to direct the Resident at Baroda to maintain a correspondence with the Resident at Poona on all points connected with the public service.

Camp, 18th July, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 145)
Major-General Wellesley to Jonathan Duncan.

1803

The troops serving in the territories of the Gaikwad are included *Baroda* among those placed under my command, and I shall be obliged to you *troops* if you will be so kind as to give direction that I may receive from Bombay returns of the strength and state of equipment of those forces, their present distribution, an account of the state of defence of the posts which they occupy, and the name of the officer who commands them. I am also desirous of having a sketch of the territories of the Gaikwad, which it is intended that these troops should defend, and any general topographical account of the country, from which I may be able to form a judgment respecting its great communications as well as with the sea coast as with the territories of Holkar's family, of Sindias, etc. and with those [*territories*] lately ceded to the Company by the Peshwa. With the assistance of these documents I hope to be able to form a system for the defence of those territories, which will tend to their

security. But, as they connect immediately with those lately ceded to the Company by the Peshwa, it is absolutely necessary that the troops in the one should assist the troops in the other in case of need. It is accordingly desirable that the officer in command in the Company's territories should communicate with me and with the officer in command in the territories of the Gaikwad.

1803 *Bombay, 23rd July, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 145)*

Jonathan Duncan to Major-General Wellesley.

Forces I had last night the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 18th instant. I now forward three returns of the strength of our army.

Bombay Firstly, at Bombay and its immediate dependencies including Bankot.

Surat Secondly, at Surat and its dependencies, which comprehend all the territories between the Narbada and the river that divides the districts of Parneira from the Portuguese settlement of Daman.

Baroda & Kathiawar Thirdly, of the British forces in the Gaikwad dominions to the northwards of Narbada as now cantoned at Baroda, the capital, and at Nadiad about 30 miles to the N. W. thereof, and at Kaira and Dholka, which with Nadiad constitute territorial cessions made on both sides of the Sabarmati River by the Gaikwad to the Hon'ble Company, Kaira being also a fortress recently granted to us by the same Power in sovereignty, and of which our troops compose of course the sole garrison.

As on similar principles they likewise do in the sea port of Dholera situated about twenty miles to the southward of Cambay, and in that of Gogha, a sea-port and garrison farther south than Dholera and a cession from the Peshwa under the treaty of Bassein, both places lying on the western side of the Gulf of Cambay, as does the like acquired ghurri or fort of Choura Peenpoore in the pargana of Dhandhuka in the same vicinity, though more to the northward, and where we necessarily maintain a military post, the place last mentioned being (to be more particular) situated in a westerly direction from Cambay on the frontier of the Kathiawar country, which together with all the rest of the Peninsula of Gujarat is divided between a number of semi-independent Chieftains, not unfrequently at war with each other, but who all owe tribute either to the Gaikwad or Peshwa Governments, the collection of which on behalf of both rests now however entirely with the State of the Gaikwad, in consequence of the Peshwa's having farmed to it His Highness's territorial and fiscal interests under the taluka of Ahmadabad; and Babaji, the brother of Raoba the minister of the Gaikwad, is now employed with the greater part of the Gaikwad native troops on what is called a mulukgiri progress for the purpose of levying this tribute, which, owing to the civil dissensions that have so long disturbed and weakened the Gaikwad Government, has been allowed to run for several years past in arrears; nor will these balances be effectually realised, or the supremacy of the Maratha Government be duly vindicated in that remote quarter of Gujarat, until circumstances shall admit of Babaji's being joined by a part of the British subsidised forces, which he would have been ere now, but for the apprehension of an invasion by Holkar or some of his adherents towards Baroda, where a respectable force continues to be kept collected, part

of it doing duty in the fortress and as a guard to His Excellency Anandrao, the Raja, and the rest being ready to march on the shortest notice against Broach in the event of hostilities ensuing above the Ghat with Daulatrao Sindia.

With respect to the state of defence of the various parts above *State of defence* enumerated, the fortress of Baroda is no doubt capable of successfully sustaining a siege, and the other strongholds are all, or most of them, too remote to have to fear any formidable attack. Besides the places I have mentioned, we have some British troops acting in support of the Gaikwad garrison in the fort of Sankheda on the eastern frontier of Gujarat, and in Kadi, a place of considerable strength, from which Malharrao (the representative of a collateral branch of the Gaikwad family) was expelled about fifteen months ago ; in consequence of which he has lately returned from Cutch, whither he had retired, and is now marauding and levying mulukgiri tribute in the same quarter where Babaji is acting, but with no great effect, no more than has been yet produced by the like predatory efforts of Kanhoji, an illegitimate brother of Raja Anandrao, who, under the shelter which he experienced in Sindia's contingent districts on the western frontier of Gujarat, and connected as he also appears to be with Jaswantrao Holkar, is said to have assembled a marauding body of four or five thousand men with those of Malharrao to penetrate into the proper territory and immediate dominions of Raja Anandrao and of the Peshwa in Gujarat. The measures for opposing which are stated in a letter from Major Walker with whom has hitherto rested in his capacity of Resident the charge of authorising all movements of the British subsidised force in Gujarat and (as directed by the Supreme Governments under date the 12th of September, 1802) the defence of the Raja's dominions ; the immediate commanding officer being Lieutenant-Colonel Woodington, to whom however this government issues no orders but through the Resident, unless occasionally perhaps on matters of more interior detail unconnected with any march or motion of the forces under him ; in which station it is only doing justice to Lieutenant-Colonel Woodington to notice that he has hitherto afforded every satisfaction, and that from the harmony and good understanding, which have uniformly prevailed between that officer and the Resident, many good effects have ensued to the public service.

The districts, which have been above explained to be placed under *Athavisi* Surat, are comprehended under its general name of the athavisi, and the military there have by the express direction of His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General-in-Council been, since our acquisition of the sovereignty of Surat in the year 1800, placed under the command of a local Lieutenant-Governor, which office is now executed by a commission consisting of the Acting Lieutenant-Governor, who is also the Collector, of the Judge and Magistrate and of the senior military officer for the time being, who is at present Major-General Jones, who alone issues his directions to the troops in conformity to the instructions of Government to the Committee.

The athavisi (or eight and twenty parganas) stood, up to the late treaty of Bassein, nearly equally divided between His Highness the Peshwa and the Gaikwad, the former's share has now fallen to the

Company, and the two parganas of Chorasi and Chikhli were ceded by the latter to the Hon'ble Company in 1801 ; leaving still to the Gaikwad ten or twelve districts, which are not however distinct from, but are interspersed with, the Company's recent acquisitions from the Peshwa ; which produces no material inconvenience, as the Gaikwad State does now in fact depend almost entirely on the Hon'ble Company for its protection and support, and maintaining in the athavisi no other force than that referred to in the above quoted letter from Major Walker of the 11th instant, together with a small garrison in the eastern frontier fort of Songarh, in which a detail of 100 rank and file of our native infantry from Baroda has also of late done duty ; whence is no doubt to be ascribed this post's preservation on the occasion of the late attack made on it by some of Holkar's forces ; and in view to its greater security recent orders have been issued to the Committee at Surat to instruct General Jones to detail thither, as soon as the reduction of Parneira may admit thereof, a reinforcement and further supply of men and provisions to the number of five hundred of the former, half of whom are Europeans and half Natives, if the place can afford accommodation for so many together with suitable supply of stores and ammunition, a measure which, with Major Walker having made requisition to Lieutenant-Colonel Woodington to detach nearly an equal force to that last mentioned, with two guns under the command of Captain Richardson of H. M.'s 86th Regiment to take post on the Narbada at the Bawapir Ghat, may with our being in possession of the southern fort of Parneira, which we cannot fail soon to be, contribute altogether materially to the defence of all the countries to the northward, that are situated between the Ghats and the sea.

The state of equipment of the forces under Lieutenant-Colonel Woodington is, I have reason to believe, respectable, and has been completing for some time past in view to the present aspect of affairs ; and I know that he is prepared to move on the shortest notice with such a force, as is deemed there requisite, for the reduction of Broach, the particulars of which equipment I shall this day write to the Resident to transmit to me for your information.

The Secretary to this Government has already forwarded to the Resident at Poona Lieutenant-Colonel Reynolds' answer of the 29th June to the requisition for information in his department, which he accordingly advises of his being engaged in preparing for your use ; and he has in the meanwhile transmitted two sets of topographical memoranda, which Colonel Close will no doubt have furnished you with. Till this promised information may arrive, I transmit a sketch of the Gaikwad dominions, which I had sometime ago made out for my own use from the information of a native, and I have ordered Colonel Reynolds now at Cambay to be again called on to expedite as speedily as possible the former information required as well as the additional data you have now referred to.

Orders have now been transmitted to the Committee at Surat and again to the Resident at Baroda to communicate with you on the means of ensuring the common defence of their respective limits ; and it had already been repeatedly enjoined to them to afford aid to each other in case of need.

Returns of troops.

At Bombay, Salsette, Karanja, Bankot	3,921
At Surat and its dependencies under the command of Major-General Richard Jones	3,444
To the northward of the Narbada under the command of Lieut.-Col. Henry Woodington	4,791

Camp, 24th July, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 145)

1803

Major-General Wellesley to the Marquis of Wellesley.

Another circumstance of difficulty at the present moment, which probably could not exist hereafter, is the state of the Gaikwad Government. The rebels [*Malharrao and Kanhohirao*] have only been lately expelled from that country, and the Government has not yet had time to gain strength. The hopes of the confederates [*Sindia, Bhonsla, Holkar*] must be founded in some degree upon the certainty of a renewal of the rebellion in the case of a war.

Bombay, 1st August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)

1803

James Grant to Alexander Walker.

I am directed by the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to transmit for your information and guidance the enclosed copy of a letter from His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General under date the 9th ultimo¹, and to desire that you point out whether *Sindia* possesses any sea port or territory in Gujarat, besides Broach, to the end of rendering the present instructions applicable to such places in the event of hostilities ensuing with that Chief.

Camp at Walki, 2nd August, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 146)

1803

Major-General Wellesley to Jonathan Duncan.²

In my opinion therefore the following arrangement ought to be made :—

1. One officer of rank ought to be appointed in the athavisi and Gujarat. Lieut.-Colonel Woodington may still command the troops immediately north of the Narbada under such an officer.

2nd. The works of the Castle of Surat ought to be put in a state of repair. If the Castle of Surat is in such a position as that it is commanded by the neighbouring grounds, it ought to be destroyed and field-works erected in a commanding situation without loss of time for the defence of the troops allotted to that important city.

A detachment of rank and file	30
The 75th Regiment	573
and of the 1st battalion and Regiment	500
	<hr/> 1,103

ought to be the troops allotted for Surat.

3rd. The garrison of Baroda ought to be :—

Artillery	20
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1 See the Marquis of Wellesley's letter of the 9th of July.

2 The whole of the letter consisting of 34 paragraphs has been published in *Wellingtton's Dispatches* ; the relevant parts are here recorded.

The detachment of the 61st Regiment ..	..	154	
A detachment of the 88th Regiment ..	..	100	
			254
And the 2nd battalion of the 7th Regiment ..			696
			<hr/> 970

Giving detachments as hereafter stated to other
garrisons and leaving of Native Infantry in
Baroda 411

4th. The garrison of Cambay ought to be as at present : 25 rank and file from the 2nd battalion of the 7th Regiment at Baroda.

5th. The garrison at Kaira ought to be 3 artillery men and 100 rank and file from the 2nd battalion of the 7th Regiment at Baroda.

6th. The garrison at Kadi [*ought to be*] 60 rank and file as at present from the 2nd battalion of the 7th Regiment at Baroda.

7th. The garrison at Broach, eventually [*ought to be*] 48 rank and file of the 88th Regiment, 12 artillery [*men*] and 100 rank and file from the 2nd battalion of the 7th Regiment at Baroda.

8th. The garrison at Songarh ought to be 12 artillery [*men*], 100 rank and file of the 84th Regiment, and 100 rank and file of the 1st battalion of the 6th Regiment.

9th. The garrison of Parneira ought to be 12 artillery men, 172 rank and file of the 84th Regiment and 200 rank and file of the 1st battalion of the 6th Regiment.

14. I do not see the advantage of the posts in Dholera, and Gogha, or at Ranpur, or of the small detachments, detailed in the returns, in any of the places in the districts ceded by the Peshwa. The officer appointed to command will however be the best judge upon this subject, and will post detachments in those places, if he should think it proper. These small detachments are ruinous to the discipline and spirit of the troops ; they weaken the corps to such a degree that they are unfit for service in the field, and they answer no adequate purpose. In my opinion, in time of war, and particularly in such a war as the one with the Marathas, it would be best to authorise the collectors to raise sibandi troops for these services. The expenses would be but trifling, and in fact cannot bear a comparison with the benefit which must be derived from the measure.

15. In all parts of India, particularly in those territories which have belonged to the Marathas, there is a numerous class of people, whose only occupation and only mode of procuring a subsistence has been the military service. This class is usually entirely deprived of subsistence by the transfer of the government of these countries to the Company, and they are driven to seek for it either into rebellion at those moments when the British troops are engaged in foreign war, or in the armies of our enemies. These they are ready to lead into our districts, with all the knowledge derived from long residence and service within them ; and they become in fact our most dangerous enemies.

16. The employment of those people at such times as sibandi is advantageous therefore, not only as it saves the regular troops, and gives a larger body of troops for field-service, and prevents the loss of their discipline, but because it lessens the number of the idle and

discontented at the time of general invasion and confusion, and that of our most dangerous enemies.

17. Having thus provided for the principal garrisons and stations in Gujarat and the districts depending upon Surat, there will remain for service in the field :

Artillery	99
65th Regiment	763
85th Regiment	815
1st battalion 1st Regiment	625
2nd battalion 1st Regiment	697
1st battalion 6th Regiment	519
2nd battalion 6th Regiment	763

18. These corps ought to be divided into two detachments ; one, consisting of 50 Artillery, the 86th Regiment and two native battalions, to be stationed in a convenient situation north of the Narbada, and in front of Baroda ; the other, consisting of 49 Artillery, the 65th Regiment and two native battalions [*to be stationed*] at another [*situation*] south of the Tapti, between Surat and Songarh.

19. In the cantonments with these two detachments, ought to be the necessary proportion of ordnance and stores, *viz.* 2 six-pounders for each corps, and 2 twelve-pounders, and two 5½ inch howitzers for each detachment. Camp-equipage for these detachments ought to be in readiness in Baroda and Surat.

20. In case the commanding officer should receive intelligence that an invasion was threatened to the northward, he would move the southern detachment across the rivers Tapti and Narbada, and collect all his troops in that quarter, excepting one battalion which he might leave at Songarh to operate upon the enemy's marauding parties, if the Bhils should be friendly and should have engaged to stop the passages by the other ghats, or to be thrown into Surat to reinforce that garrison, if they should not.

21. On the other hand, if he should be obliged from circumstances to bring the northern detachment to the southward, he might leave one battalion to reinforce the garrison of Baroda, and to operate with the Raja Anandrao's horse upon the enemy's marauding parties, who might attempt to penetrate, in the absence of the detachment.

22. In this manner and by bringing forward Raja Anandrao's horse and infantry, there would be a disposable force for field-purposes in those districts, which, in the most essential parts of a British army, *viz.* British soldiers, would be stronger than that at present under my immediate command ; and which with the aid of Anandrao's horse, and supported by the strong places, would in that country be equal to anything that could be brought against it.

23. I have also to observe that under this arrangement all the principal points in the country are secured.

Baroda, 7th August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)
Alexander Walker to Jonathan Duncan.

1803

I have the honour to enclose a paper on the state of affairs in Gujarat and containing such remarks as a consideration of our interests in this country has led me to offer, which are hastily thrown together

on the present occasion. I have also enclosed according to your instructions a statement of the field equipments of the contingency forces and a return of their disposition and effective strength, which may convey fuller and more recent information of those circumstances than could be furnished from the Presidency.

Broach I am not much apprehending that Kanhoji will be able materially to interrupt the siege of Broach, but he may be led to attempt it, and to advance towards Baroda on hearing of so large a division of the troops having left it.

On this service taking place, one of the battalions stationed at Nadiad or Dholka may be called to Baroda or be appointed to watch the motions of Kanhoji in conjunction with the Gaikwad troops, should this measure be found advisable; but one of those corps must remain in the pargana to maintain the Company's government and for the security of the revenue.

No. 1. Reflections on the state of affairs in the Gaikwad country in the beginning of August, 1803.

*State of
affairs in
Gujarat*

1. Since Kanhoji's expulsion from Gujarat he has collected considerable sums of money from the petty States to the eastward, and subsisted his followers at the same time at their expense. During the period he has either induced the Chiefs in that quarter to enter into accommodations with him, or obliged them to submit by force; which has revived the spirits of his followers by indulging them in plunder, and afforded funds for their maintenance in future or for entertaining new levies. Under these circumstances Kanhoji has acquired additional forces, and we cannot doubt but, while he has the means of supporting them, that many others will flock to his standard.

*Sindia &
Holkar*

2. Although Kanhoji has found a refuge in Daulatrao Sindia's dominions, it does not appear that he has lately derived any support from his Government, but rather that he has endeavoured, and most probably successfully, to connect himself with Jaswantrao Holkar. At times Kanhoji has plundered the subjects or dependants of Sindia, but from the loose principles of a Maratha Government this act of itself would not constitute hostility, nor be conclusive proof that the parties have not a secret understanding.

*Malhar &
Kanhoji*

3. It is not clearly established what degree of understanding exists between Malharrao and Kanhoji. Whether or not they are combined in the prosecution of the same views, it is certain that their designs are equally hostile to this Government, and that they equally desire the downfall of present Administration. They appear originally to have formed some plans of co-operation and junction, which were obstructed by the approach of the monsoon, the advance of Babaji's army, the suspicions probably of each other and the expectation which Kanhoji seems to have entertained at that period of assistance from Holkar.

4. By whatever motives these parties have hitherto been governed, they pursue the same conduct at present, and by raising contributions have supported and increased the number of their partisans. The accounts of their respective forces are not implicitly to be relied on, but we shall be near the truth if we reckon each to be at the head of

5 or 6,000 men. Of the two [*forces*] Kanhoji's is by far the most formidable.

5. It is probable that they will both [*Malharrao and Kanhoji*] continue the course that they are now engaged in, during the period of the rains, but afterwards it is not to be supposed that Kanhoji will remain satisfied with his present situation. The hopes that his party will have formed from the death of Raoba may prompt them to the enterprise; and if they find us engaged in hostilities with Sindia or Holkar, they will undoubtedly return to this country. Kanhoji, unless checked by a force proceeding promptly against him, may on the whole be expected to invade Gujarat, and its detached and defenceless districts will serve to gratify the rapacity of his followers. This design can be the more easily pursued by Kanhoji, as there are still people who are secretly connected with him; and there are others who would favour his invasion merely from malignity to the present system.

6. It is evident that until the men, who are in arms against the Gaikwad State, are subdued, the peace of Gujarat will be exposed to continual interruption. The Company and the Gaikwad Government will both be obliged to maintain a larger military establishment than ordinary circumstances would require. While we remain in this expensive state of equipment and preparation, the revenues will be plundered by the enemy, and no system for the amelioration of the country can be introduced with advantage.

7. From this review of circumstances it is essentially necessary that we should be prepared to make an early campaign after the monsoon against Kanhoji and Malharrao. We should by this measure frustrate or anticipate their designs either of union or of invasion. We should by proceeding to attack them check the presumption of their followers and destroy that illusion which at present misleads them. We should have the advantage, always considerable, of advancing to meet the enemy in a situation where they think themselves secure, and save Gujarat from a predatory invasion. By seeking them also in their present situation, we shall have the assistance of the local Chiefs of the countries, which have suffered from their depredations.

8. Kanhoji's accession in numbers and the acquisition he appears to have made of artillery have not in reality made him more formidable. He is now encumbered with property and equipage. The guns he has acquired will be in his way, and will prevent him keeping those fastnesses, where it was so difficult to bring him to action, and where we could attack him but under very great disadvantages.

9. Before Raoba's death the Gaikwad Administration had begun to form a detachment to oppose Kanhoji, but that event suspended the preparations. These are again renewed, and I hope to assemble shortly a considerable body of forces in the field. They expect to be joined by some of our troops; and without this assistance it does not appear that Kanhoji can be effectually opposed. Although sensible of the necessity of effecting this, I have felt some difficulty in giving that explicit assurance, which I should have done, had there not existed so strong a probability that the contingent may be called to act against Sindia or Holkar.

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4. By whatever motives these parties have hitherto been governed, they pursue the same conduct at present, and by raising contributions have supported and increased the number of their partisans. The accounts of their respective forces are not implicitly to be relied on, but we shall be near the truth if we reckon each to be at the head of

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6. It is evident that until the men, who are in arms against the Gaikwad State, are subdued, the peace of Gujarat will be exposed to continual interruption. The Company and the Gaikwad Government will both be obliged to maintain a larger military establishment than ordinary circumstances would require. While we remain in this expensive state of equipment and preparation, the revenues will be plundered by the enemy, and no system for the amelioration of the country can be introduced with advantage.

7. From this review of circumstances it is essentially necessary that we should be prepared to make an early campaign after the monsoon against Kanhoji and Malharrao. We should by this measure frustrate or anticipate their designs either of union or of invasion. We should by proceeding to attack them check the presumption of their followers and destroy that illusion which at present misleads them. We should have the advantage, always considerable, of advancing to meet the enemy in a situation where they think themselves secure, and save Gujarat from a predatory invasion. By seeking them also in their present situation, we shall have the assistance of the local Chiefs of the countries, which have suffered from their depredations.

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9. Before Raoba's death the Gaikwad Administration had begun to form a detachment to oppose Kanhoji, but that event suspended the preparations. These are again renewed, and I hope to assemble shortly a considerable body of forces in the field. They expect to be joined by some of our troops ; and without this assistance it does not appear that Kanhoji can be effectually opposed. Although sensible of the necessity of effecting this, I have felt some difficulty in giving that explicit assurance, which I should have done, had there not existed so strong a probability that the contingent may be called to act against Sindia or Holkar.

10. Our engagements, however, with the Gaikwad Government and our credit in Gujarat require that we should unite some of our forces to theirs in order to act against Kanhoji. For defensive operations, and sufficient probably to prevent him making any progress, a detachment of Europeans, two battalions of native infantry with a proportion of artillery, joined to the Gaikwad troops, may suffice. But, if circumstances will permit us to engage in a decisive measure and to extinguish Kanhoji, we should not take the field with a less force than appeared against him last season. If possible, this effectual course ought to be adopted.

11. The danger from Malharrao is less pressing, and the forces under Babaji are perhaps sufficient to keep him in check ; but the same motives, that have been already stated, ought to lead us to adopt measures for his complete overthrow. In addition to these motives, others of considerable weight may be mentioned. The preservation of the revenues of Kathiawar will depend on the defeat of Malharrao ; and it is only by joining Babaji with a body of English troops that we shall establish any useful influence in that country and fix control in Babaji's own camp, which is also necessary. With the expedition of Kathiawar we may continue that which is meditated to Bijapur and against the Dwarka pirates.

We may pursue also some views of settlement in Kathiawar itself ; and in all those projects we may, if it is judged expedient, have the co-operation and assistance of the Gaikwad Government, allowing them a share of the advantages which we could easily afford without injuring our own and thereby remove any cause of jealousy or suspicion. To pursue and perfect these views would require a force equal to that which I have proposed to go against Kanhoji ; but the expedition into Kathiawar will have the advantage of being capable of a co-operation of sea and of extraneous support.

12. Besides the forces for these separate services, we must provide for the security of other objects of great importance. At present we had little more than a single object to look after in Gujarat, and our forces were collected at the capital to watch over the concerns of the Administration, to avail ourselves of events and opportunities for the purpose of securing the interests of the first and extending our own. These circumstances are materially changed : our interests are closely interwoven with those of the Government, we possess a part of the country intermixed with the territory retained by the State, we have revenues to collect, we have garrisons to provide for several forts, and we may be said to have the exclusive charge of Baroda. There are many valuable and delicate considerations connected with this last charge, which it is not necessary to specify, as they are very well known. The care of all those objects must require a large military force.

13. We may be assured that any diminution of our forces in Gujarat will diminish our local influence and consequence. We have succeeded in Gujarat beyond our original views and also beyond the first intention of the Gaikwad Administration. We have obtained this success without exciting jealousy by following the course of events, by affording the Government timely assistance of money and troops, by administering in short to its necessities, as they arose, which secured a requital that

we should have in vain sought to obtain by negotiation, although we might have held out a prospective of the greatest advantages. I would propose to accomplish what remains to be done in Gujarat by pursuing the same natural system. It may be necessary to support the credit of the new Administration by a pecuniary loan; but this must be limited, and it is a species of support that must have an end.

14. In respect to troops it is otherwise. We should still take care to furnish our military assistance promptly, liberally and extensively on every occasion that their necessities call for it. By this means we shall maintain that lofty superiority which speaks most forcibly to the senses and would oblige everything to crouch to us. We should be ready to afford this assistance without stipulating beforehand for hire, which would excite alarm or create jealousy, and they would probably reject that assistance which was offered at a high and certain price. Generosity and successful valour will always ensure their own reward. We should by this conduct disgust them with their own troops or render them useless and contemptible. In the prosecution of this system causes would arise, or opportunities would offer for shaking off some part of their expensive establishment, of reforming its abuses, and of extending or consolidating more firmly our own power.

15. Whether these observations are just or not, it will be found good policy to make ourselves as active and necessary as we can in the Gaikwad affairs. The seat of government will for a long time require a particular share of attention, and we should continue to maintain a considerable body of forces at Baroda. It is to us that they look for defence against every kind of danger, and by readily extending our assistance we should prevent them falling into any other dependence or discovering any other means of security. It is still in their power to hire new levies; and if at any time they are disappointed in assistance from us, they must have recourse to an expedient, which is in direct opposition to our interest.

16. In the event of a war with Sindia we shall be obliged probably to relinquish our views for the present in Kathiawar and to entrust the defence of that frontier to Babaji. But we must charge ourselves with the whole of the eastern line of defence, which extends from Songarh to Patan. This line is bounded by the territories of Holkar, Sindia and the countries in which Kanhoji has established himself. These parties are nearly thus arranged: Holkar to the southward, Kanhoji at the northern extremity, and Sindia in the middle. The fortress of Songarh and the detachment that is forming there will probably save that quarter at least from another plundering expedition. It is also to be supposed that, in case of a war, Holkar's attention will be drawn from Gujarat. The whole of Malwa and Sindia's country to the northward of the Narbada is bare of troops. Kanhoji is the most formidable enemy on this side, and he occupies a position favourable for entering Gujarat.

It is intended that Raghoba Kaka and Amin Saheb with all the Sindhis should take up a post between Kapadvanj and Atarsumba, ready to oppose Kanhoji. It is also intended that this party should scour the banks of the Mahi to keep the Mewasis thereabouts in awe, and to prevent Kanhoji either renewing his connection with them, or

making the mulukgiri collection on the border of that river. It appears absolutely necessary that this division of the Gaikwad forces should be joined by a detachment of our troops.

17. In the event of a war with Sindia it does not appear that he is in a situation to invade Gujarat ; but there are two points at which he should be immediately attacked and dispossessed of them. The first is Broach, a source of wealth, commanding the Narbada and forming the great link of connection between the north and south districts of Gujarat. The second point is Pavagarh or Chanpaner, 20 kos to the eastward of Baroda ; at one time the capital of Gujarat, at present it is a hill-fort strongly situated on the high road to Malwa and Ujjain. The garrison at either of these places does not exceed 500 or 600 men, and they are neither of them well provided for a siege.

Five hundred Europeans and a battalion of native infantry with a train of battery artillery may be spared from the contingent for the siege of these forts, but we shall not be able to take the field at the same time with a sufficient force against Kanhoji, neither can we form the siege of both places at once, which it would be desirable to attempt.

1803 No. 2. *Supplement to the reflections on the present state of our circumstances in the country of the Gaikwad.*

Distribution of troops Deducting the sick and the drill, there remains a total of effective forces in Gujarat of 2,924.

With this force of 2,924 English and native infantry the following objects are to be attended :

(1) The keeping Kanhoji in check, who is on the north-east frontier with 5 or 6,000 men with an intention to penetrate Gujarat when a favourable opportunity presents itself.

(2) The same with respect to Malharrao, who has a considerable force assembled in Kathiawar with the same intention.

(3) The protection of the districts we have obtained in Gujarat, which comprise a large extent of country and yield a revenue of upwards of 12 lakhs of Rupees. Some of the districts are not well connected and inhabited by a disorderly race of people, who require the constant operation of force. It is indispensable, if we mean to reap any profit from them, that some of our troops should be stationed in the parganas.

(4) The garrison of Kadi, Kaira, Sankheda, Ranpur, Songarh with the parts of Dhandhuka and Dholera are to be provided from the contingent, exclusive of other stations established more immediately for the security of the revenue.

(5) It is also indispensably necessary for many weighty reasons that Baroda, the seat of government, in which case conspiracies have been so frequent, should have sufficient force to check the refractory, to preserve tranquillity, and to defend the place.

(6) The protection must be afforded as far is practicable to Gujarat in the event of an invasion by Malharrao, Kanhoji, Holkar, or Sindia.

(7) The attack of Broach, operations against Pavagarh, Godhra and other possessions of Sindia.

The above are some of the principal objects to be seriously considered in calculating the force which is to remain in the Gaikwad dominions ;

and it is presumed that the present [*force*] is now inadequate to secure completely and effectually these serious interests.

No. 3. Returns of military establishment.

Return of Camp-equipment, etc.

Tents	306	Draft bullocks ..	447
Doolies	40	Pack bullocks ..	568
Carts	14	Camels	49
Horse	1		

Return of troops.

Lieutenant-Colonel ..	1	Jamadars	41
Majors	2	Sergeants	46
Captains	7	Havaldars	196
Captain-Lieut.	1	Sarangs	2
Lieutenants	50	1st Tindals	7
Ensigns	8	2nd Tindals	7
Adjutants	5	Drummers	104
Surgeon	1	Lascars	228
Assistant-Surgeons ..	6	Pakhalis	138
Subahdars	40	Rank and file ..	3,756
Total rank and file ..			3,756
Deduct : sick and drill ..			832
Total effective			2,924

Bombay Castle, 12th August, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 146)

1803

Jonathan Duncan to Major-General Wellesley.

I have had the honour of receiving your letter, in answer to mine of the 23rd in which, having entered into a full explanatory detail of our circumstances in Gujarat, under the yet immature, and (more especially under the recent death of our firmest friend, in that country, the late Gaikwad Diwan), very peculiar and complicated, though not unpromising system, by which our interference has hitherto been regulated in the territories of Raja Anandrao. I have only to assure you of the entire acquiescence and sincere and ready co-operation of this Government in the alterations that, under the control and direction with which you stand by the highest authority fully vested, you have, in discharge of the duty thence incumbent on you, seen necessary to point out the expediency of. In consequence of which the appointment of Colonel Murray will be put in orders, whenever your ultimate recommendation of that officer, (of whose professional qualifications there can be but one, and that a very favourable opinion) shall be received; and the discontinuance of the local military authority at Surat and by the Resident at Baroda may, I presume, most conveniently be announced at the same period.

General Jones, being at the Presidency, will of course remain here under the present arrangement.

Baroda, 12th August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)

1803

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

I have the honour to forward for the information of Government an answer to the letter from Major-General Wellesley and also copy

of a letter addressed on this occasion to the Committee at Surat, both of which, I trust, will meet with the approbation of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council.

1803 No. 1. *Letter from Alexander Walker to Major-General Wellesley.*

I have communicated to Lieutenant-Colonel Woodington the strong probability of war with Sindia and Bhonsla. In expectation of this event preparations had been previously made for attacking Broach and transporting thither the equipments necessary for the siege.

Distribution of troops

It appears to Lieutenant-Colonel Woodington and me from a full consideration of all these circumstances that it would be imprudent to detach from Baroda above 500 Europeans and native corps. At present it is the commanding officer's opinion that this force is sufficient for the service for which it is intended, but that there may be no disappointment an application is to be preferred to Surat to hold a reinforcement of Europeans in readiness in case they should be required. While this service is going forward, it will be of consequence to assume all the appearances, that circumstances will admit, of offensive operations.

The duties of the parganas may be nearly taken by one corps, and it is proposed that Major Holmes, with his battalion or such part of it as can be withdrawn, shall march in the first instance to Ahmadabad. Afterwards he may take up a position at Kapadvanj, or on the banks of the Mahi in conjunction with the Gaikwad forces appointed to watch and check Kanhoji, who must be expected to make his attempt to enter Gujarat from that quarter.

It will be extremely flattering if these arrangements are honoured with your approbation, and I beg leave to repeat an assurance, which I have already made to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of Bombay, that every attention will be paid in this quarter to your wishes, and no exertion omitted to accomplish such objects of public service as you may be pleased to direct.

No. 2. *Letter from Alexander Walker to the Surat Committee.*

Enclosed is a letter of this date to the Hon'ble Major-General Wellesley, which after perusal I beg you will be pleased to forward by the most expeditious and certain conveyance to that officer.

It is unnecessary to call your attention to the important objects of that dispatch, unless to request that a detachment of Europeans, of a force to the extent of from two to three hundred rank and file, be held in readiness to march, on the earliest intimation that the troops from Baroda are on their way or prepared to attack Sindia's capital in Gujarat [*Broach*]; at same time that two eighteen-pounders be embarked to proceed by sea, as pointed out in my letter to General Wellesley, to assist in the reduction of Broach.

P.S.—You are aware of the command of the contingent and troops in the Gaikwad's dominions north of the Narbada being specially confided to Lieut.-Colonel Woodington; and it cannot be doubted in the event of a body of troops coming from Surat for the purpose above stated that due consideration to the views of Government will prevent the detaching of any officer with them of senior or superior rank to Lieut.-Col. Woodington.

Bombay, 12th August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)

1803

James Grant to Alexander Walker.

I am directed by the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to transmit *Letter* the enclosed extract, being the 13th, 14th and 15th paragraphs, of a letter from the Hon'ble Major-General Wellesley under date the 2nd instant, for your information and opinion founded on your local knowledge as to the practicability and advisableness of raising and substituting a sibandi force for the troops therein referred to, accompanying your remarks by an estimate of the expense that may thereby be incurred.

Baroda, 13th August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)

1803

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

In reply to your letter of the 1st instant, enclosing copy of one from *Sindia's* His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General to the Hon'ble *country* the Governor-in-Council of Bombay, I have the honour to inform you that Daulatrao Sindia possesses no sea port except that of Broach.

Enclosed is a general schedule of the possessions and tributaries of Daulatrao Sindia in or about the Province of Gujarat.

Alexander Walker's Memorandum.

Memorandum of possessions in the family of Daulatrao Sindia and of his tributaries, adjoining the lands or limits of the Gaikwad Raja with their probable value, bearings, and distances from Baroda.

1st : Broach, 35 kos S.N., fort, town and territory producing eleven lakhs of Rupees annual revenue ; the garrison and outposts from 600 to 1,000 men.

2nd : Pavagarh fort and Champaner village, 19 kos ; Halol and Kalal villages, 20 kos ; Godhra, 50 kos ; Jalod, 60 kos from E.N.E. to N.E.

These places produce two and half lakhs annually of revenue under the sarkar management.

3rd : The tributary chieftains, subject to mulukgiri by detachments from the garrisons and amildars of the above places, are those of Lunawada, 45 or 50 kos N.N.E. who pays Rupees 12,000; of Bhamery, 12 kos East, who pays Rupees 5,000 ; or Sunth, 60 kos North, who pays Rupees 10,000.

4th : On the N.E. towards Ujjain are Dohad, 70 kos ; and Amjhara, 90 kos ; and Ratlam, 150 kos ; Nayalai, 150 kos ; which are organised and managed by his own civil servants ; they yield a revenue of seven lakhs ; Jhabua, a small district of Holkar now in jaidad to Bhoali Siladhar, comes in beyond Dohad.

5th : On the North, 60, 70 and 80 kos are several small principalities such as Dungarpur, Banswada, and the like ; out of which he shares from fifty thousand to a lakh of Rupees mulukgiri.

Ahmadnagar, 17th August, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 146)

1803

Major-General Wellesley to Jonathan Duncan.

I have the honour of receiving your letter of the 12th instant, and *Murray* am happy to find that you approve of the suggestions contained in my letter of the 12th and of Colonel Murray to command the troops to

¹ See letter of the 2nd August

the northward. I beg leave to recommend that he may be appointed, and that he may go to Surat at the earliest possible period, and in the most expeditious manner.

1803 *Bombay, 21st August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)*

James Grant to Alexander Walker.

Letters I am directed by the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th instant, with the schedule therein referred to, and to forward for your information the copy of a communication made to the Hon'ble Major-General Wellesley on the subject of it under this date.

1803 *Jonathan Duncan to Major-General Wellesley.*

Sindia's possessions By the instructions, which His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General has honoured me with under date the 9th of last month, I am directed to communicate with you on the measures I may propose to adopt for the purpose of occupying the sea-ports and other territories of Daulatrao Sindia within the limits of the province of Gujarat or otherwise, south of the Narbada, and to be guided by your suggestions as to their execution.

In this view, I have the honour to forward the copy of a report, having date the 13th instant, and of its accompanying memorandum, as just received from the Resident at Baroda, descriptive of the possessions in the family of Sindia or possessed by his tributaries adjoining to the lands or limits of the Gaikwad Raja; respecting the measures for reducing which your own orders having been already issued to the commanding officer in Gujarat, as far as relates to the fort of Broach, followed by the Government's directing the dispatch of such further maritime and other assistance as occurred to us as likely to prove useful as well from Bombay as Surat, there now only remains to wait the result, which cannot, I think, prove otherwise than fortunate; and regarding Pavagarh I need only refer, as being in general concurrence with my sentiments, to the means that are suggested in the paper of observations by Major Walker, which has been transmitted to you a few days ago.

Respecting the other possessions of Sindia to the south of the Narbada, you own superior means of information must render any remarks, that I could offer, superfluous. I shall therefore only add that the expulsion of the Pathans and other marauders, belonging to Ahmed Khan, from the towns and districts of Morepur, Navapur and Anandpur, places appertaining to His Highness the Peshwa in the eastern vicinity of Songarh, would add to the security of that fortress and tend to remove alarm from the inhabitants of Surat.

1803 *Camp at Toka, 22nd August, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 147)*

Major-General Wellesley to Jonathan Duncan.

Treaty obligations 1. I have had the honour of receiving your letter of the 16th enclosing two of the 7th instant from Major Walker. I have also received a letter from Mr. Duncan of the 17th, and Lieutenant Colonel Close had forwarded to me copies of a correspondence between Mr. Duncan and Major Walker, in which an important question is discussed respecting

the nature of the alliance between the Hon'ble Company and the Gaikwad State, and how far the latter is obliged to enter into the war with Sindia, with whose Government he is in close alliance.

2. Before I proceed to the consideration of the papers transmitted by Major Walker, it is proper that I should advert to this question, as, if it be true that the Gaikwad State is not obliged to take part in the war with the Maratha Chiefs, the question respecting the defence of the Gaikwad territories is not referable to me.

3. I have seen copies of two treaties between the Company and the Gaikwad, by which the latter has agreed to subsidise one company artillery and two battalions of native infantry. Both Governments have agreed that there should be true friendship and good understanding between them; and the British Government have agreed to give to Anandrao its countenance and protection in all his public concerns, as may appear for the good of the country.

4. Although it is not immediately specified, it can never have been intended that the Company should protect the Gaikwad State, unless the Gaikwad should also assist the Company with its forces against the enemies of the British Government. Indeed I cannot understand the words 'true friendship and good understanding' in any other manner. If it were otherwise, the consequence would be that the Company would be involved in perpetual war for the protection of the Gaikwad States without any adequate compensation, excepting that of repayment of the expenses incurred. The connection between the two Governments would be one not very creditable to the Hon'ble Company; if this doctrine be admitted, it would be such a one as the petty States in Germany have occasionally had with His Majesty, the foundation of which was the use of their troops for hire, with this additional disadvantage that the Company is bound to protect the Gaikwad State at all risks for repayment of the expenses incurred.

5. If the British Government are not to have the assistance of Anandrao against our enemies, I cannot see what advantage it is to us to support his power against Kanhoji or any other pretender. It certainly will not be considered as an advantage when weighed with the inconvenience of allotting to that service a large body of European troops at a moment when the service of every soldier is required.

6. But, although Major Walker has brought forward this construction upon the treaties, I cannot believe that he thinks it correct. In the 13th and 14th paragraphs¹ of the paper, inclosed with your letter of the 16th, he talks of the advantage to which we may still look forward, and he recommends that we should give our military aid "promptly, liberally and extensively" whenever the necessities of the Gaikwad State may require it. He has not stated precisely what the advantages are, which, it is expected, we should derive from this military aid, and the influence over the Gaikwad counsels, which is to result from giving it; but I conclude that he must expect some other advantage besides the mere payment of the hire of the troops.

7. He has indeed mentioned one consequence of our affording our military aid in the manner he has pointed out as an advantage, *viz.* that

¹ See entry of the 7th August, 1803 : Reflections on the state of affairs in the Gaikwad country in the beginning of August, 1803.

it will disgust the Gaikwad State with their own troops and render them useless and contemptible, but I can never consider that an advantage, it is certainly an inconvenient consequence of a subsidiary alliance between the British Government in India and a Native Power. But, whether we consider these alliances as intended to give real strength to the Empire, or according to the new doctrine to be only a mode of hiring out troops, as we are bound by them all to protect the territories of those Powers who pay us subsidies, it cannot be good policy to render contemptible and destroy entirely their own military resources.

8. Indeed all the subsidiary engagements, excepting that with the Gaikwad State, show that the policy is different ; for they all provide that the Native Governments, with which they are contracted, shall have a force to act with the British troops.

9. Upon the whole, as I cannot conceive that the only object in concluding the treaties with the Gaikwad State was to obtain payment for the service of a body of British troops, as that construction upon the treaties is discreditable to the reputation of the British Government, and as the treaties would afford no advantage adequate to the inconvenience of protecting the Government of Anandrao, and as Major Walker does not appear to be of opinion that the construction is correct, although he has brought it forward, I am decidedly of opinion that the engagement must be considered to be mutual ; that the enemies of one State are the enemies of the other, and the Gaikwad State is bound to co-operate in a war in which the British Government have been forced in their own defence.

Plan of campaign 10. The next point to consider is the plan of operations to be carried on in the prosecution of that war. The Governor-General has positively ordered, and there is no doubt whatever of the expediency of commencing the operations in Gujarat by the siege of Broach. This place is of no strength whatever, Major Walker declares that its garrison is weak ; and if preparations were made as suggested in my letter of the 26th July to Major Walker, and if the attack was made as ordered in my letter of the 6th August, it will certainly be in our possession before any of the particular enemies of the Gaikwad State, or Jaswantrao Holkar can know of the war.

11. After the operation will have been effected, the orders of the Governor-General and expediency point out the necessity of attacking Champaner and any other hold that Daulatrao Sindia may have in Gujarat ; and I have to observe that, if the operations against that place are pushed forward, it is very probable that it will be in our possession before the season will permit the enemy to disturb them.

Walker's plans 14. Major Walker has proposed a variety of operations, viz. first an expedition against Kanhoji, second an expedition against Malharrao, third an expedition into Kathiawar, combined with one against Kanhoji and the Dwarka pirates¹.

15. I cannot enter into these operations : 1st, because the Governor-General has given orders, and it is expedient that Sindia's fort of Broach should be attacked, and that he should be deprived of his possessions in that quarter ; 2ndly, because I do not see adequate resources of men

¹ See entry 7th August : Reflections of the state of affairs in the Gaikwad country in the beginning of August, 1803, paras 7-11.

or means for any of these operations ; 3rdly, because it is by no means certain that Holkar will not join the confederates ; and if the troops should be employed against Kanhoji or Malharrao or in Kathiawar, the whole province will be left defenceless to his ravages.

17. The plan of operation which I would prefer in Gujarat would be to collect the troops, as proposed in my letter of the 2nd instant, with a view to an invasion from the northward, as soon as they should have taken Broach and Sindia's other possessions. That the magazines should be prepared and collected for them in the different parts of the country, in which they might be called upon to act. That they should have with them the means of moving one month's provisions and a good proportion of stores. That those troops so collected should fall at once with their whole strength upon the strongest of the parties expected to invade Gujarat, wherever the invasion should take place. *Wellesley's plans*

18. When employed in this service, some of the weaker enemies may invade the country and may do some mischief ; but that is a temporary evil, one trifling in its nature, and which at all events cannot be prevented. To disperse the troops in three different divisions to make head against the three expected attacks will not answer ; none of the divisions can be strong enough to act with vigour ; the consequence must be that the whole country must be plundered, and very possibly some misfortune may happen to one of the divisions, which will give the enemy a permanent settlement within it.

19. Under the plan which I proposed, no permanent settlement can be made by any enemy in any part of the country ; and if the collected force should be so fortunate as to beat and drive out Jaswantrao Holkar, Kanhoji and Malharrao will certainly not remain in the country ; and the consequence may be the possibility of attacking Indore or Ujjain ; or if Jaswantrao should not enter Gujarat, and the efforts of our collected force should be directed against Kanhoji and Malharrao, it will be sufficiently large to make such an impression upon them as entirely to put an end to all apprehensions of future invasions by those enemies.

20. These are my sentiments upon the plan of operations for Gujarat. I can have but little local knowledge of that country, and Major Walker must have much. But I object upon military principles to the separation of our small forces in that quarter and to undertaking many distinct operations with inadequate means. If the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council should think it proper to adopt the suggestions of Major Walker, they must be carried into execution ; and I hope that I shall not be considered responsible for the consequences.

No. 1. Bombay Government's Comment, dated 28th August.

With respect to the plan of operations, they have hitherto been, and will continue to be strictly followed up, as you, Sir, may be pleased to order in virtue of the powers with which you have been vested ; all that this Government desire being the common privilege of demurring to give effect to plans proposed to be connected with their approbation, which they may not have it in their power to extend to them, in which view they take this opportunity to suggest that your future communications for carrying on the war should, with a view to save time, be made *Bombay views*

altogether independent of that condition ; when this Government will cheerfully hold itself responsible that every effect depending on them shall be given towards their successful operation.

Major Walker's official proposals, adverted to in the 14th paragraph of your letter, being the result of his reflections on the state of the country at a period, when the events of peace or war were uncertain, appear to this Government, with the exception of extending the preferred mulukgiri progress through the districts of Kathiawar as far as Bhuj or Dwarka, to be necessary in many respects to the prosperity of the Gaikwad sarkar and to the improvement and cordial consolidation of our alliance with that State ; in view to which it no doubt chiefly was that the Major submitted unofficially to the Governor's consideration the expediency there might be in allowing the Gaikwad State to remain neutral during the present contest without of course meaning to bring it forward in its then state as a question on record.

On the remaining and particularly the last para of your letter the Governor-in-Council wishes only to observe that, as in all cases there must be one directing power, and as that power has, as far as Gujarat, been vested in you, the public good requires that you should exercise it without reference to the opinions of this Government, which in this department will only remain responsible for zealously acting up to all the communications you may favour them with. Meanwhile they sincerely regret that even the smallest delay should have ensued from the Governor's letter to you of the 12th having failed to produce the impression it was meant to convey ; in fuller illustration of which I am directed to transmit the accompanying concluding para of a Minute which he recorded on that occasion ; in the terms of which it would no doubt have been better that the consequent letter to you had been dictated, had it not been conceived that the intimation, which was actually sent, would suffice, joined to the wish to avoid as far as possible all discussions which might promulgate any difference of opinion between you and him on points on which his prescribed duty is to obey.

To conclude, Colonel Murray, who is proceeding, to assume his command at Surat will, of course, make your letter of the 2nd of August, of which he is in possession of a copy, the rule of his guidance, likewise Major Walker at Baroda, as far as the maintenance of the internal quiet of the province may admit, till such time as your answer to the Governor's letter of the 12th be received, or till he have occasion to call for the exercise of Colonel Murray's powers to the northward of the Narbada in consistence with the intermediate instructions under which Colonel Murray proceeds to Surat, and eventually to Broach.

1803 No. 2. *Jonathan Duncan's Minute*

I propose that Colonel Murray be, at the recommendation of the *Murray* Hon'ble Major-General Wellesley, and in virtue of the powers vested

1 The Bombay Government were ready to acquiesce in, but not to approve of, Colonel Murray's appointment as Commander-in-Chief. The Secret and Political Department Diary for the year 1803, contains a voluminous correspondence on this subject ; the most important document is the letter written by the Bombay Government to the Court of Directors on September 3, 1803 (1802-03, Foreign Department, 13).

in that officer, published in military orders of the 1st of August, appointed to the local military command of the troops at Surat, in the athavisi district, and generally throughout the province of Gujarat, under such instructions as are or may be prescribed for his guidance by the Government of this Presidency, or as he may receive from the Hon'ble Major-General Wellesley in pursuance of that officer's paramount command from His Excellency the Most Noble Governor-General.

Bombay, 28th August, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 147)

1803

James Grant to Major-General Wellesley.

1. I am directed by the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to *Explanations* acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd instant.

2. The Governor has informed the Board that the question, prospectively agitated as much as or more with a view to local policy than to any other consideration in the internal intercourse of private correspondence respecting the political connections between Sindia and the Gaikwad State, as adverted to in the 2nd and following paragraph of your letter, becomes now necessary to be entered into, as by another private communication received yesterday from Major Walker it appears that upon this officer apprising the present minister of the Gaikwad State of hostilities having issued with Sindia, the news appeared to be no wise disagreeable to the said minister, who is aware that he will have to take part in it as our ally, to which he betrayed no reluctance, as the Major will no doubt, hereafter have occasion officially to report.

3. The accompanying 12th para of a report from the Governor to the Supreme Government of the 11th of June, 1802¹, will explain why the treaties hitherto concluded with the Gaikwad State were not made more specific at the time, notwithstanding which they have been honoured with the full approbation of the Governor-in-Council, and since then Major Walker has attained an additional engagement as per copy enclosed, as further noticed in the 51st and 21st paras of a letter from the Supreme Government of the 15th of December last,² the further and conclusive treaty desired, in which it had been agreed to be entered on before the death of the late Diwan, as will appear by the accompanying letter and enclosure from Major Walker of the 4th of June last, and would ere now have been concluded, but for the long sickness ending in the death of the late Minister and the interruption incident to a new succession in that important department of the State.

4. With respect to the alliance between the Gaikwad and Sindia's Government, it is probably of the same description with those that connected more or less in friendship the several territories of the Maratha Empire, in reference to which I enclose the copies of a correspondence that took place last year between Daulatrao Sindia and the Governor.

5. In the treaty now under negotiation a stipulation will be made, binding the Gaikwad State to afford whatever military help may be in its power.

The objects in concluding the treaties with the Gaikwad State were various, and such as have been honoured by the decided approbation of the Supreme Government ; one of which may be deemed to be completely

¹ See Volume IV, p. 430, under marginal heading : Raoba's professions.

² See Volume V, pp, 436 and 438.

attained, the exclusion of our European rivals from acquiring any political or other ascendancy in that part of India ; and a second [*object*] the cession of territory, which has to a certain extent also been acquired, exclusive of the parganas assigned for the payment of the troops.

1803 *Camp at Pipulgaum, 4th September, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 141)*

Arthur Wellesley to James Grant.

Wellesley's views I am happy to find that the servants of Anandrao Gaikwad did not bring forward the claim that he should be neutral in the existing war between the Company and Daulatrao Sindia, which was anticipated by Major Walker. It appears that they consider his engagements with the Company in the same light as I do ; and I have no doubt but that, when all the engagements between the Company and that Chief will be consolidated in one treaty, there will be no objection on the part of his Government to bind himself in terms in the manner in which his servants and I consider him to be bound by his present engagements.

If it should be thought material, I beg to observe that I never doubted the policy of the treaties with the Gaikwad State, provided the engagements were considered to be mutual. My doubts upon the subject were grounded upon those of the Resident whether the Raja Anandrao would take part in the existing war.

The Governor-in-Council has disapproved of the plans, which I proposed to him on the 2nd August, for the defence of Gujarat and the athavisi ; and I cannot think that it would be proper for me to order that those plans should be carried into execution in contradiction to his declared opinion. If I was in Gujarat or at Surat, and could be in constant communication with the Resident at Baroda or the Committee, I should most willingly endeavour to carry on the military duties in the manner preferred by the Governor ; but, as I am at a great distance, one which is daily increasing, and as the communication may be impeded, it is best for the public service that I should not undertake to conduct business of which it is not possible that I should have any knowledge.

Upon the perusal of Major Walker's paper upon the subject of Gujarat I observe that the operations recommended therein were connected with the prospect of a war with Daulatrao Sindia and Jaswantrao Holkar, and that the siege of Broach is particularly adverted to. I objected to those operations on the grounds stated in my letter of the 22nd.

1803 *Baroda, 6th September, 1803 (1803, P. D. 43/51)*

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

Letters I have the honour to enclose for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the copy of a letter from Col. Murray and one addressed to that officer.

No. 1. Letter from Colonel Murray to Alexander Walker, dated Surat, 3rd September.

In the command I have the honour to inform you that at the recommendation of the Hon'ble Major-General Wellesley I have been appointed to the command of the troops in Surat, in the athavisi districts, and generally throughout the province of Gujarat.

I yesterday assumed the command, and the Committee for exercising the military functions of the Lieut.-Governor of Surat ceased. In obedience however to my private instructions I shall in no way interfere with the movements of the troops to the northward of the Narbada till further orders. I shall only request that Lieut.-Col. Woodington will send me a return of the troops under his command, generally correspond with me, and make such reports as he has formerly done to the commanding officer at the Presidency.

Allow me, Sir, to assure you that in every instance you will find the most cordial co-operation on my part and request the favour of your correspondence. I have it in contemplation to move some part of the troops from hence towards the Narbada. As soon as I have determined on this step, I will acquaint you of it. You would oblige me much giving me some general idea of the resources of the Gujarat in grain and cattle; and if you have any late intelligence of the movement of Holkar's army, I would esteem it a favour if you would communicate it to me.

No. 2. Letter from Alexander Walker to John Murray, dated Baroda, 6th September.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3rd instant and feel highly flattered by the handsome manner you have been pleased to open this correspondence. *Pleased*

I have written to Lieut.-Colonel Woodington in the terms you have requested, and he will undoubtedly conform to your wishes.

Section B: MILITARY OPERATIONS

The military operations were mainly directed against Sindia's possessions in Gujarat. Mention is also made of the death of Yadav Bhaskar because of his previous connection with Raoji Appaji and the Baroda State.

DOCUMENTS

Parneira, 22nd July, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 146)

1803

Colonel A. Anderson to Lieutenant-Colonel Callander.

I have to inform, you that at two o'clock this morning the out-posts of Parneira were attacked and carried, and two guns, which were there, taken by the detachment under my command; and at about two o'clock in this afternoon the fort was evacuated by the enemy, and taken possession of by our troops. A battery had been erected, and a few eighteen-pounder shots fired before they quitted the place. *Parneira*

Baroda, 4th August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)

1804

Alexander Walker to the Committee at Surat.

I have also the pleasure to enclose a letter, with translation, to the Songarh killadar of Songarh from the Gaikwad Administration, announcing the appointment of Lt.-Col. Watson, and calculated to secure him the assistance and goodwill of the local officers. *Songarh*

Sitaram Raoji to Bhagwanbhai and Kashiha Raksha in the fort of Songarh, dated 2nd August, 1803

Orders Colonel Watson, an officer on the part of the Honb'le English Company, who has come to Songarh, being in want of quarters there, you must look for a proper place and prepare it for his abode. It is the rainy season, therefore exert yourselves to give him good shelter speedily if possible; and as the guns in that fort require to be put into a state fit for service, that officer will give the necessary orders about it, which you must allow him to do. In no instance throw obstacles in his way, on the contrary let all your steps be in concurrence with his will. In case of actual operations be of one mind, and submit all pieces of intelligence to that officer.

Whatever officers, engineers, artificers come from Surat, furnish them with every information about the fort, and what it contains, that they may be made useful. Let there be no differences of opinion entertained. Do not allow a difference to exist between the Company and us.

1803 *Baroda, 4th August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)*
Alexander Walker to the Committee at Surat.

Advice In order to accomplish the wish expressed in your proceedings under the 27th ultimo, I have obtained the acquiescence of the Gaikwad Government to admit a party of British troops into Vyara for its defence, on the same footing that they have been received into Songarh. I have for this purpose enclosed the original and the translation of a letter to the killadar of Vyara.

On an occasion, which relates no less to the immediate security of the Gaikwad territories than to the preservation of that good understanding which has hitherto subsisted between the troops of the two States in the course of their joint operations, I shall stand excused in offering my opinion on the arrangements which appear to be in contemplation at Surat.

It is your intention I presume to put the forts of Songarh and Vyara into best state of defence, and to furnish them with ammunition and provisions. The garrison for the former is, I conceive, abundantly sufficient so long as it is not exposed to a siege, and a smaller number would be enough under the same circumstances at Vyara.

The object of these garrisons is to maintain our ascendancy, to secure admission for a larger body of troops when necessity requires it, and by means of this constant guard to preserve the forts in a respective state of defence.

These views will be best answered by establishing guards of native infantry under European officers of discretion.

With the exception of such a detachment as I have described in each of the forts, it appears to me that the whole of the disposable force from Surat ought to be quartered or cantoned near Songarh, a position most offensive to the enemy, and from which the troops may enter the last fortress or fall back on Vyara in such proportions as may be necessary on a superior army invading that part of Gujarat.

I am induced strongly to recommend that you should depend only on your own resources; for, although the Gaikwad forces will be an

assistance in certain situations, and their civil officers may procure for the troops temporary supplies, we are neither to rely on the one nor on the other in cases of extremity or real service. So long as we are successful, the Gaikwad forces may afford us considerable support and an abundant supply of provisions ; but we should be able to meet every accident of fortune in order to prevent disappointment and the cause either of regret or complaint which must be unavailing.

I beg also to recommend that particular instructions are given to the troops stationed at Songarh or any one who may act in the Gaikwad territory to abstain from killing animals held sacred by the religious institutions of the Hindus.

I have the honour to enclose on this subject an extract of the Hon'ble the Governor's orders for the observance of the contingent forces.

No. 1. Sitaram Raoji to Sankroji Fadke in the fort of Vyara, dated Baroda, 3rd August, 1803.

Messrs. Galley and Crow will send an officer or officers and carpenters *Orders* to that fort. You must show them all the parts of the fort and the guns that are therein. Then they will make such repairs to the gun carriages, etc., as are requisite ; and they will tell you what parts of the fort need mending, and this you must do. They will set the guns to rights ; and instead of throwing any obstacles in their way, you must implicitly obey their orders ; but it is to be hoped, and you are hereby desired, in the event of exertions being wanted to save the place, to concert measures with mutual cordiality and start no doubts to the detriment of the service.

Let the killadar's and the Company's officers and men who come there take the same precautions as observed at Songarh, a hundred men from them will come to garrison the fort.

Camp, 6th August, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 146)

1803

Major-General Wellesley to the officer commanding the troops in the territories of Anandrao Gaikwad.

Upon the receipt of this letter, you will be so kind as to commence *Broach* your operations against Daulatrao Sindia's fort of Broach. You will be so kind as not to suffer these operations to be interrupted or delayed by any negotiation whatever.

No. 2. Extract of letter from the Hon'ble Jonathan Duncan to the officer commanding the contingent in Gujarat, dated Cambay the 9th June, 1803.

It is necessary to be attentive to the prejudices of the natives, *Meat* and you will not permit the slaughter of cows, bullocks or any other animals, which may be contrary to the customs of the country.

Surat, 16th August, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 146)

1803

The Committee to Major General Wellesley.

We do ourselves the honour to report for your information that *Broach* in conformity with an application which he [the Resident at Baroda] has made to us, orders have been issued to the officer in command of this garrison to hold in readiness a reinforcement of 250 Europeans and two

eighteen-pounders with such quantity of provisions and ammunition, as he may deem necessary, that the whole may on the first intimation of their services being required proceed to assist in the reduction of Broach.

1803 *Camp, 27th August, 1803 (Wellington's Dispatches)*
Major-General Wellesley to Jonathan Duncan.

Orders 2. It is to be hoped that the orders, which I have already given, and the measures, which you have adopted, will have put the Hon'ble Company's troops in possession of Broach before this time. It will remain with you to appoint a person to manage and collect the revenues of the districts depending upon Broach ; and I recommend that a body of peons should be raised to take possession of the different thanas in behalf of the Hon'ble Company.

5. In respect to the Pathans said to be in the neighbourhood of Songarh, I have strong reasons to doubt their being in that quarter at all, and certainly not in the numbers stated by the harkaras employed by Major Walker.

6. It is by no means certain, though very possible, that Jaswantrao Holkar will become a party to the war ; and for that reason I am desirous not to attack or molest any of the troops supposed to belong to that Chief, at least for a short time.

1803 *Broach, 29th August, 1803 (1803 S. & P. D. 147)*
Lieutenant-Colonel Woodington to Major-General Wellesley.

Broach I have the honour to acquaint you that at three o'clock p.m. I stormed the fort of Broach, and carried it with little loss, although the Arabs made considerable resistance, particularly on our entering the breach. The Arabs have suffered very considerably, and we have taken a great many stands or colours. A more steep ascent to the breach, and of such length, is seldom seen. I cannot express myself in sufficient terms on the gallantry of the officers and men I have the honour to command.¹

1803 *Bombay, 2nd September, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)*
James Grant to Alexander Walker.

Local militia I am directed by the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to transmit to you the enclosed extract, being the 2nd, 5th, and 6th paragraphs of a letter from the Hon'ble Major-General Wellesley under date the 27th ultimo ; and to advise that, as you already hold the office of Resident at Broach as well as at Baroda, Government entrust to you the carrying into effect the purport of the 2nd paragraph, as soon as Broach shall fall into our possession, inclusive of the raising of such a body of armed peons, as is herein directed, as well for the service of the Broach territory as for the interior duty of the Company's other parganas and districts throughout Gujarat, from which as it may be expected that General Wellesley will very soon order the regular sepoys

¹ The Secret and Political Department Diary for the year 1803, No. 147, contains a detailed account of the siege and capture of Broach. For Baroda's co-operation see Major Walker's letter to James Grant, dated Baroda, 10th September, 1803.

to be withdrawn, no time is therefore to be lost in beginning to enlist this body of local militia, the number and description of which must for the present be left to your discretion, in the confidence reposed by Government that every practical attention and economy will be shown, and the Governor-in-Council reserving a determination as to the permanent organisation of this sibandi, and whether or not it shall be commanded as in Bengal altogether without the intervention of the European officers or with such commandants and adjutants of that description as may be deemed essential by you to give efficiency to the system.

The militia or sibandi thus raised should be clothed in a manner sufficiently to distinguish them from the regulars, and armed with repaired fire-locks and such other weapons as may be deemed locally advisable, for which you may make the proper indent.

Bombay, 2nd September, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 147)
At a Consultation.

1803

Yadav Bhaskar, the minister of Daulatrao Sindia, having in the *Jagirs* name of himself or of his brothers a jagir in the pargana of Chikhli, it is in conformity to the opinions of the Hon'ble General Wellesley and of Colonel Close that the same should be sequestered, and the revenue thereof brought to the public account; and it was on the 5th instant accordingly ordered that instructions to that effect might be issued to the Collector of Surat, desiring him to apply the same rule to any other jagirs or lands that might belong to any of Sindia's ministers within his collectorship.

Camp, 3rd September, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 147)
Major-General Wellesley to Jonathan Duncan.

1803

The enemy, having found it impossible to seize any of the districts *Arrest* belonging to the subah of the Deccan so as to plunder them to any extent, have seized the persons of some of the principal inhabitants of the towns near which they have passed, and have obtained them as securities for the payment of certain fines which they have required from the districts. In order to put a stop to this practice it is necessary to retaliate upon them. Accordingly I request you will be so kind as to give directions that the brother and relations of Yadavrao Bhaskar may be seized, and that they may be informed that they will be detained as securities for the persons of those hostages, seized in this unjustifiable manner by Daulatrao Sindia. In case there should be at Broach or in the Gujarat athavisi, as in any of the countries which may come with the hands of the Hon'ble Company's troops, any other persons of consequence or responsibility related to or connected with Sindia's Ministers, or belonging to that Chief, I request that they also may be seized and detained for the same reason.

Lunawada, 4th September, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)
Mahadaji Pant to Major Walker.

1803

A native of Chandore, named Mahadaji Nathu, came here from *Sindia* Godhra. I engaged him in conversation in the course of which he said: "The kamavisdar of Godhra has received a letter, in which it is written

that Ambaji Ingolia has got charge of Gujarat (i.e. Sindia's possession therein) ; that Mahadev Anant, an officer under his authority, is coming to this country to arrange its concerns, attended by an army of five or seven thousand men ; and that they are arrived at Dohad."

1803 *Vyara, 4th September, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)*

Venkatesh, thakur at Vyara to Sitaram Raoji.

Athavisi He reports that Amrutrao's advance-guard is arrived at Peth, and he is himself 15 or 17 kos behind with an army of 17,000, whose destination is the athavisi.

He also reports that Ajimba, a commander of Holkar's, had come to, and gone back from, Peth.

1803 *Baroda, 10th September, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 148)*

Major Walker to James Grant.

Pavagarh I have the honour to advise you for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of the march of Lieutenant-Colonel Woodington this morning from cantonments here to Pavagarh. This detachment consists of 500 Europeans, all the Grenadier battalion, except those left at Broach, with a proportion of artillery and a party from the Hon'ble Company's troops of cavalry with a respectable detachment of native horse headed by Jethabhai Gaikwad.

Broach I have great pleasure in observing the cordial co-operation of this Government in our measures to obtain possession of the enemy's posts. During the siege of Broach and on this occasion the Administration at Baroda have afforded, as far as required by the commanding officer, the aid of their horse.

The 2nd battalion of the 1st native infantry is on its march from Kaira to join Colonel Woodington's detachment.

1803 *Baroda, 10th September, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 148)*

Alexander Walker to Colonel Murray.

Sindia Harkaras from Dohad and advices from different parts agree in the actual arrival of a body of two thousand troops (horse and foot, some say four thousand) at Dohad on the 1st or 2nd of this month, detached by Ambaji Ingolia, the new amildar of Champaner, and in others of Sindia's possessions in this province. Their intention is to succour the garrison of Pavagarh, against which fort Colonel Woodington has just gone off with his detachment, which, I hope, will reach the hill before the enemy can throw in a reinforcement.

1803 *Baroda, 25th September, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 148)*

Henry Woodington to Colonel Murray.

Pavagarh captured After a breach had been effected in the wall of the inner fort, and also after another was almost practicable in a tower at the angle of the outer fort, the garrison offered to capitulate on the morning of the 17th September on condition of being protected in their persons and property.

To these terms I agreed... They however tacked other stipulations to the capitulation... and it was not till four p.m. that they agreed to their original terms, which were immediately carried into full effect by their evacuation of the fort and mountain, of which we took possession.

Baroda, 5th October, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)

1803

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

I request you will be so good as to inform the Hon'ble the Governor-*Visit* in-Council that on the 26th ultimo, I had the honour to introduce Colonel Murray and his suite to the Raja Anandrao Gaikwad at his palace, on which occasion His Highness was pleased to distinguish the visitors by honorary presents, according to the enclosed list.

List of presents given to Colonel Murray, etc. by Anandrao Raja.

To Colonel Murray : 1 turban, 1 pair of shawls, 2 mahmudis or *Presents* bastus, 1 kincob, 1 kunthee of pearls.

To Major Torrens : 1 turban, 1 pair of shawls.

To Major Waddell : 1 turban, 1 pair of shawls.

To Major Prendergast : 1 turban, 1 pair of shawls.

To Captain Dale : 1 turban, 1 pair of shawls.

To Captain Burr : 1 turban, 1 pair of shawls.

To Captain Bunyan : 1 turban, 1 pair of shawls.

To Doctor Deane : 1 turban, 1 pair of shawls.

Camp Godhra, 9th October, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 149)

1803

Letter from Colonel Murray to Major-General Nicolls.

I have the honour to acquaint you that the corps under my command *Godhra* arrived here this morning and took possession of the town and fort of Godhra without opposition; the last of Sindia's troops evacuated the place yesterday morning, and have taken the route to Dohad. By the possession of this capital the submission of the five dependent parganas is secured, and Sindia has none now remaining possession on this side of the defiles of Bariya.

I am now at the place where the equipment for the invasion of *Plans* Sindia's provinces beyond the Bariya country ought to be arranged, and this would now occupy my attention if my force was adequate to the undertaking; but weak as I at present am, there could be no hopes of success. The utmost I can do will be to threaten an attack; and if the Gaikwad forces can check Kanhoji, to advance and occupy the defiles of Bariya. In the course of a month I may perhaps be enabled to bring up the 65th Regiment and the recovered sepoys; but this will be a very inadequate force, if so large a body of Holkar's army is stationed in the country for its protection.

Bombay, 2nd November, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 149)

1803

Major-General Nicolls to Jonathan Duncan.

[As] far as I am able to judge, I think Colonel Murray is going on *Murray* very well, and I should suppose perfectly satisfactory to General Wellesley, as he is conciliating the affections of the people and trying to collect as much revenue from the conquered districts as possible without oppression to the poor inhabitants, and as such, I hope the Colonel's measures will meet with your approbation.

Bombay, 14th November, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 150)

1803

Bombay to the Company.

The military operations in Gujarat and on the eastern frontier *Events* have (as your Committee stand already informed) placed us in possession

of Broach and its dependencies, and of Champaner, and Pavagarh ; and as a consequence of these successes Godhra and the districts dependent on it, lying in the immediate vicinity of Pavagarh, have fallen into the possession of the British Government. Hitherto the enemy have made no attempt to carry the war into Gujarat, nor consequently has the tranquillity of that country been yet disturbed, unless it be that Malharrao and Kanhoji (two discontented members of the Gaikwad family, whom we have already had frequent occasion to mention to your Committee and to the Hon'ble Court), have continued in opposite directions to threaten incursions into the Gaikwad territory ; but the recent seizure of the person of the former by the Gaikwad forces in Kathiawar and the presence of the British troops in the direction of the latter's inroads may, we trust, preserve that province in a state of quiet.

1803 *Baroda, 18th November, 1800 (1803, P. D. 52)*

Letter from Ramchandra Bhaskar to Sitaram, dated 23rd September.

Bhaskar I received your letter mentioning the death of Raoba and stating that you had written me two or three times without any answer returning. I have before written you on hearing the tidings of Raoba's decease.

On the 23rd September the army of the Jilcherra [*Jalachara*] (English) and of our sarkar met and fought.

In the battle the Bhau [*Yadav Bhaskar*] was killed by the side of his Master.* His fame survives in the three worlds, yet great is my grief that he is gone. I cannot carry my hand to describe my sorrow. Whom Shri Satta (the good god) sustains, he will stay or stand. The Bhau is become, as well as Raoba, an inhabitant of Elysium. The friendship that subsisted between them, never broken in their lifetimes, ought to be as an archtype for our imitation.

There are many troubles and embarrassing circumstances, which you have to get the better of in that country to maintain order in the government. Let me have your news from time to time. The attainment of objects here will not be without you. Whatever you write, it will be received.

1803 *Baroda, 18th November, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)*

Letter from Nagoram, karkun of the late Yadavrao Bhaskar, to Sitaram.

Bhaskar Your letter of the end of July and beginning of August I should have acknowledged, but I was two or three kos from camp, and had not opportunity to avail myself of for writing when my Master Yadavrao Bhaskar's answer went off.

The friendship between Baba and the Rao (Raoba and Yadavrao) ended but with their change of state. Fate visited them both within two months ; the will of God is unalterable.

On the 23rd and 24th September a body contest was maintained between the army of the Jalachara (literally, those who travel by water, the English) and ours. My Master fell in the midst of the battle. He wrought for and gained fame in the two worlds, and has gone to a place of glory.

1. Yadav Bhaskar's previous connections with Raoji Appaji and the Baroda State are recorded in Volume V of the *Gaikwads of Baroda*.

The death of the Bhau has exposed the embarrassments of the State. In the four courts, the Bhonsla's, Holkar's and the Peshwa's (the fourth is not named, but Sindia's is understood) there was none like the Bhau. But the Lord listened not to his desire of protecting the people, supporting his prince, and crushing his enemies. The decree of fate is executed, and I have lost him that upheld me.

Anyaba (Yadavrao's brother) is at the head of affairs, but his abilities fall far short of the Bhau's. Future events depend on the pleasure of the Most High. On account of the enmity of the Jalachara (English) confusion and a state of warfare pervades every part of the Deccan and of Hindustan. Order and union remain nowhere; and what will be the consequence, I know not.

The news of Gujarat are known; the times do not allow to be taken into consideration the resumption of yonder places at present. Before in Gujarat and in the south, strong places, like Bassein, which were occupied by the enemy, were evacuated in a minute, and there will be no difficulty in doing the like again if fortune favours.

While the Bhau lived, everything relating to you was properly represented, but now the idea of your connections does not sit easy in his [*Sindia's*] mind; but even till this time he has conceived nothing unfriendly in you, or evinced any enmity to you, nor will he, I am convinced. We see from this the distress in which your bad connections have involved you, eating up everything and fleecing the fat of the land. The Lord Hari is all powerful; it is but necessary to put on courage, and every wish will be attained.

I consider you in the light I did Raoba, whom I respected.

The burthen of the State is now on you. It remains with you to continue the people and privileges derived from Baba's [*Yadav Bhaskar*] country [*Sindia's country*].

Camp, 30th November, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 151)

1803

Daulatrao Sindia to Bapuji Sindia.

At this time the advisableness of peace having come from the *Truce* Government of the English Company and from General Wellesley Bahadur, and a vakil having thereon gone from this Government, discussions are proceeding with. First the general hostility and the advancing of the troops on either side are to be put a stop to. This has the General fixed. Mr. John Murray is come, and him the General has enjoined that, until peace be established, he shall remain at 20 kos, and in like manner John Murray has sent for a letter to you; wherefore this letter has been written, and it is necessary that you remain at the distance of from twenty to twenty-two kos from Mr. John Murray, who is come from Gujarat. By remaining near each other useless prejudice will ensue. This having been settled, you are to abide at the distance from him of twenty kos.

No. 1. Letter from Major-General Wellesley to John Murray.

Notwithstanding this agreement, it is necessary that Major Holmes *Plan* should be much upon his guard, and I should deem it desirable that

you also should move toward Dohad with the remainder of your corps, if this movement should be consistent with other objects in Gujarat.

1803 *Camp Dohad, 18th December, 1803 (1804, S. & P. D. 154)*

John Murray to Major-General Nicolls.

Plan I have the honour to acquaint you that the corps under my command encamped at Dohad this morning, where I propose remaining till I learn the result of the negotiation with Sindia.

Victory December 19, 1803: I was prevented by some business, which I was obliged to attend, from finishing this letter. In the evening I received the account of General Wellesley's victory of the 31st November; and as by that action the armistice must be broken off, I shall advance towards Ujjain.

1803 *Camp, 23rd December, 1803 (1804, S. & P. D. 154)*

Major-General Wellesley to the Marquis of Wellesley.

Treaty I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that I this day received the ratification of the Raja of Berar of the treaty of peace signed on the 17th instant by myself, on the part of the Hon'ble Company and their allies, and by Jaswantrao Ramchandra on the part of Raja Raghuji Bhonsla. I propose hereafter to forward this instrument to Your Excellency.

Daulatrao Sindia's Ministers, Eitul Pant and Kaval Nyn, arrived in my camp this afternoon for the purpose (as they say) of making peace for their Master.

I yesterday gave notice to Sindia's vakils, Jaswantrao Ghorepade and Haripant Nana, that I was desirous to put an end to the agreement made on the 23rd November for suspending hostilities, and that I should consider it as null and void from the 27th instant.

1803 *Camp at Surji Arjungaon, 30th December, 1803 (1804, S. & P. D. 154)*

Major-General Wellesley to Jonathan Duncan.

Treaty I have the honour to inform you that I have this day concluded with the vakils of Daulatrao Sindia and signed a treaty of peace between the Hon'ble Company and that Chief. I cannot by this opportunity send you a copy of this treaty; but I have the pleasure to inform you that among other cessions to the Hon'ble Company and their allies is the fort of Broach and the territory depending thereon.

1804 *Bombay, 10th January, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 154)*

Bombay to the Company.

Dohad Since we had last the honour of addressing your Hon'ble Committee we have received accounts from Colonel Murray of his arrival on the 18th ultimo at Dohad, being a frontier station between Gujarat and Malwa; whence, but for the armistice concluded on the 22nd of the preceding month between the Hon'ble Major-General Wellesley and Daulatrao Sindia, it might from the complete state of his equipment and the strength of the army under his command, consisting, inclusive of 2,000 Gaikwad horse and 500 infantry, of upwards of 6,000 men, have been in his power to have advanced on Ujjain.

Camp, 26th January, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 154)
Major-General Wellesley to Colonel Murray.

1804

I have had the honour of receiving your letter of the 3rd instant. *Praised*
 As you have sent a copy of it to the Governor-General, it is probable that you will receive His Excellency's sentiments upon your operations. In the meantime I have to inform you that I conceive that you did everything in your power in the common cause. Your corps was certainly not sufficiently strong for the invasion of the enemy's country; but you obliged a formidable rebel to retire, and you preserved the peace of Gujarat, a country which was certainly in some degree exposed to be invaded by the enemy.

Poona, 29th February, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 155)
Major-General Wellesley to Jonathan Duncan.

1804

In every way I view the present situation of our affairs, I am *War* decidedly of opinion that you cannot detach your troops to any considerable distance [*from north of the Narbada*] without incurring the risk of disabling yourself from having the means of obeying the orders, which it is possible that the Governor-General may send you.

Camp, 17th June, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 158)
Colonel Murray to Josiah Webbe, Resident with Sindia.

1804

I had the honour of addressing you on the 15th instant. I have this *Plans* morning received your letter of the 31st with a copy of that of the 30th. To-morrow I shall be joined by the division, which in consequence of the failure of the Gaikwad's contingent I was obliged to march through the Bariya country; with it come up my heavy guns; and in the rear, one day's march, are supplies of grain, etc. sufficient to enable me to advance; which I shall do with the utmost rapidity.

By letters which I have this day received from Baroda, I learn that, in consequence of the refractory conduct and exorbitant demands made by Kakaji and the other Gaikwad sardars, the brother of the Diwan has been sent off to assume the command, with powers to dismiss such as should refuse to advance; a measure of this vigour was highly necessary, and the choice of commander promises well for the public cause.

Section C: THE BARODA CONTINGENT

The Baroda Contingent consisted of a cavalry corps about 850 men strong. They did not prove a valuable assistance from a military point of view. They had never been broken to discipline, they would have preferred to go on mulukgiri service, they had not been regularly paid in the past, they had considerable arrears due to them, they were more ready to complain than to suffer in silence. Nor did their leader Kakaji see eye to eye with Colonel Murray. The result was that the relations between the Gaikwad and the

British troops were not friendly, though the Baroda Diwan, Sitaram, was in no way to blame for the remissness of the Baroda Contingent.

DOCUMENTS

1803 *Bombay, 21st August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 43/51)*

James Grant to Henry Shank.

Expenses The Resident at Baroda having reported to the Governor-in-Council, under date the 10th of July, his having advanced to the Gaikwad Government from two to 5,000 Rupees, in order to enable a party of cavalry to march with a detachment of British troops to the southward, I am now directed to signify for your information that this disbursement has obtained the sanction of Government.

1803 *Baroda, 22nd August, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)*

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

Sibandis troops There are two descriptions of sibandi in Gujarat. The first is maintained for the defence of the State and the second for the collection of the revenue only. The former is paid by the Government and the latter by the kamavisdar or renter. There is a revenue establishment of this kind already in the Company's parganas.

As the present question, I imagine, relates to a military foot sibandi only, I shall confine my observations to it. A considerable body of men of this description may be raised in a short time, but they consist of a rabble armed at their discretion with swords or matchlocks, much fitter and always readier to plunder than to protect those whom they are hired to defend.

The expense of a force of this description is according to the caste of the people and the quality of their arms, and frequently it is regulated by the reputation of their chief. The pay of each man is commonly from six to ten Rupees, exclusive of the pay of their jamadars, which is from 100 to 150 Rupees a month, agreeable to the number of men they command. By this information the expense of a corps of 100 strong, including its officers, would amount to about 8,500 Rupees monthly.

The regular troops in the parganas are visible signs to the inhabitants that they belong to the Company's Government and are under its protection. They protect them in fact against the depredations of the Kolis, the incursions of the Kathis, and from taking revenge on each other.

The presence of the troops is everywhere a check on the conduct of the native agents, and they are a legitimate support to the Company's government.

1803 *Bombay, 3rd September, 1803 (1803, P. D. 51)*

James Grant to Alexander Walker.

Indents I am directed by the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to acquaint you that the Military Board have been advised of the order yesterday issued to you respecting the sibandi to be raised, and directed to cause

your indents for repaired arms and ammunition to be complied with, on a calculation that to the northward of the Narbada 1,000 men of this description may require arms, besides 200 for the Broach districts.

Baroda, 15th September, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 148)

1803

Alexander Walker to John Murray.

A corps of cavalry is at present with Lieutenant-Colonel Woodington at Pavagarh, and measures are taken to increase it. That you may not be disappointed in any expected assistance from the Gaikwad army, I must beg leave to inform you that it is ill-paid and ill-appointed, and in many respects has but a nominal existence. *Gaikwad troops*

I have at the same time a sincere degree of satisfaction in assuring you of the favourable disposition of the Administration and of every support in its power.

Baroda, 9th October, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)

1803

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

I have the honour to enclose for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council a return of the Gaikwad cavalry, who marched from Baroda with Col. Murray, and also a general return of all the forces of this State's cavalry and infantry, pointing out their present distribution and the services on which they are employed. *Gaikwad troops*

I have the honour likewise to enclose the translation a letter from Kakaji, in which he declares his intention of joining Col. Murray at Balasinor, and has ordered Amin Saheb to repair to that rendezvous. There are about 2,000 troops under these two leaders.

Before Col. Murray marched from this [place], he was furnished with letters directing the Gaikwad sardars to obey his orders and also with takid patras [warning letters] under the Raja's seal, addressed to the Mewasi chiefs, enjoining them to contribute their assistances against the enemy and to co-operate on every occasion with the English troops. I am happy to say that the Raja of Bariya and others of these Chieftains, have sent their agents and have offered to join our troops with some of their forces.

No. 1. Baroda troops.

A return of the cavalry who marched from Baroda with Colonel Murray.

Total of horsemen : 850.

No. 2. Extract of letter from Kakaji to Sitaram, dated 6th October, 1803. 1803

I have received your letter mentioning that Major Holmes has been detached to Lunawada, and that Col. Murray is coming with five battalions and ten guns, and desiring me to join that Gentleman at Balasinor. On receipt of your letter I wrote to Malaba at Lakwada to come with Amin, jamadar, and the rest to Kapadvanj, whither I shall join in the morning. Thence I will send Malaba to town and take Amin and the others to Balasinor. *Promise*

Depend upon it, I will not deserve Major Walker's censure. Thus long I have been looking the road of the battalions ; and now that they are upon it, you need not doubt the enemy will be chastised.

Kanhoji is still encamped at Pandervada in the Lunawada pargana.

1803 *Baroda, 17th October, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)*

Sitaram to Raje Pandhre.

Orders The Government have detached Gopalrao Govind and you to accompany Col. Murray, an officer of high rank in the English army, wherever he goes on the service of the State, to which you must make no difficulties or obstacles. Gopalrao will receive the Colonel's orders and communicate them to you, with which you must comply cheerfully. You must preserve the good opinion of the Colonel, as the reverse will not be for your good.

Remark in the Diary.

The letters to the inferior jamadars are to the same effect, having only less reservedly denounced against them dismissal and displeasure in the event of any disobedience to the orders of Col. Murray, communicated through Gopalrao Govind.

1803 *Bombay, 25th October, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. No. 149)*

Jonathan Duncan's Minute.

Salary of troops In several conferences, that I have lately had with Major Malcolm, respecting the state of the Province of Gujarat, and the means possessed by Colonel Murray for its defence against invasion by Holkar, Kanhoji or any other enemy, as well as for enabling the Colonel to co-operate in the war by advancing on the side of Ujjain, in the event of the Hon'ble Major-General Wellesley deeming it advisable, the Major has corroborated the opinion already expressed by General Wellesley as to the expediency of applying the revenue funds of the conquests, lately made from Sindia in that quarter, to the purposes of augmenting the force under Colonel Murray by such an efficient body of horse, as can be procured in that part of the country. The Gaikwad Government have already destined a proportion of their cavalry in this service; but they are probably so much in arrear and may continue to be so ill-paid as to disappoint from this cause alone the expectations that might otherwise be formed of them; to obviate which I propose that Major Walker be instructed to ascertain from Colonel Murray the greatest number of Gaikwad cavalry, which that officer would think it desirable to have attached to the army in the field; concerting thereon with Sitaram, the Minister of the Gaikwad State, the speediest and most efficacious means of completing the same and of equipping the reinforcements which it may be in the Major's power to procure to the army under the command of Colonel Murray in the most advantageous form that bodies of country cavalry are susceptible of; making such advances for this purpose and for the future regular pay of this cavalry while on service as he may find necessary to supply the Gaikwad Government's want of funds, and keeping a separate account of these disbursements to be replaced by the collections from the districts above alluded to, and to be ultimately placed to the debt of the Company or of the Gaikwad State, as its *[share]* of the expense of the general defence, according as may be hereafter adjudged to be equitable, and suitable to the engagements between the two States.

Bombay, 25th October, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 149)

1803

Letter from Colonel Murray to Major General Nicolls, dated 15th October.

I am sorry to say that no dependence whatever is to be placed on *Angry* the Gaikwad cavalry with me. Gopal Govind, who commands them, has informed me that except his own paga (amounting to 60 men) not a man will march to Bariya with me, and he doubts whether they will march against Kanhoji. I do not believe they will. One of their Chieftains, Jethabhai, deserted with 60 men on the march and returned to Baroda without leave. Our own cavalry is unfit for service and amounts only to 25 men. Allow me therefore to submit to the consideration of Government the propriety of raising a body of silahdar horse in our own pay, with which I would place a European officer. I can raise them in a short time and to any extent from the interior of the country, and the expense would last no longer than their service was necessary. I should then be independent of the Gaikwad cavalry. Eight hundred or a thousand would be sufficient; but, if the Hon'ble the Governor thinks this number too great, I will commence with five hundred.

Bombay, 28th October, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)

1803

James Grant to Alexander Walker.

On this occasion, I am directed to express to you the disappointment *Desertion* of Government at the reported great inefficiency and discreditable desertion of the Gaikwad cavalry with Colonel Murray, which has led to that officer's being authorised to supply their place with others, whom he thinks he can procure, of a more effective description.

The extreme impropriety of the conduct of Jethabhai and of the cavalry under his command in returning without permission to Baroda requires however to be strongly pointed out to the Gaikwad Administration; and you will accordingly avail yourself of an early opportunity to impress on them the urgent expediency of bringing that man to a due sense of his misconduct, or of punishing him as the case may merit; on all which your further report will be expected.

Baroda, 1st November, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)

1803

Walker's suggestions to Sitaram.

The Diwanji, Amin Saheb and Colonel Murray ought to go *Diwanji* immediately to Ujjain. With these forces they will obtain profit and victory. The Diwanji should proceed straight to Bariya and join Major Holmes. This would secure for the Diwanji in particular fame and reputation.

Baroda, 1st November, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 150)

1803

Resident's suggestions to the Gaikwad Darbar.

Kanhoji is abandoned by a great part of his forces, and he had *Advice* retired. Shivrām and Abud alone remain with him, with a few forces. Colonel Murray and Kakaji are gone to Virpur. If there should be an opportunity, they will attack Kanhoji. If that person has fled, and is but thinly attended, what would be the use of following him into jungles? Therefore Kakaji should remain to oppose Kanhoji and for the charge of the mahals.

The Diwanji, Amin Saheb and Colonel Murray ought to go immediately to Ujjain with these forces. They will obtain profit and victory. The Diwanji should proceed straight to Bariya and join Major Holmes. This would secure for the Diwanji in particular fame and reputation.

1803 *Baroda, 1st November, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)*

Sitaram Raoji to Major Walker.

Sitaram's views You have expressed a desire that my brother Sakaram Diwanji should accompany Colonel Murray to invade and conquer the country of Malwa, which we consider as a high honour, the object being grand. But numerous solitudes arise in my mind at the idea of sending off my brother on a service of this nature, which I hope you will not be surprised at, on my submitting the causes. The distance is great, that theatre of operations is extensive, and his force cannot but be small from existing circumstances, while it ought to consist of three or four thousand cavalry supported by a strong body of the troops of your Government for such an expedition.

With the military establishments of our Government and its disposition you, Sir, are well acquainted, so that Sakaram cannot carry many with him, which is to be regretted; besides, in the country to which he is destined a scarcity prevails or dearness of provisions, whence his people would require their pay with regularity every month, without which his authority would be liable to totter.

Notwithstanding these doubts and difficulties start to my mind, since the friendship between our two Governments is sincere, and I behold you in the stead of my late father, Raoba, I request you will freely speak to me and direct whatever seems good in your wisdom; which will be duly obeyed.

More I need not write, and so much as I have written, I beg you will not believe to have arisen from the vain notion that I could add new lights to you on the present state of things, or offer opinions on measures of this moment, but as merely to signify my feeling and to show my perfect and entire reliance on you.

1803 *Virpur, 3rd November, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 150)*

John Murray to Major-General Nicolls.

Troops useless I have the honour to acquaint you that I have this morning arrived at this encampment; I marched from Balasinor yesterday morning. It was arranged that the Gaikwad troops under Kakaji should be in this neighbourhood. But I am disappointed; as was to be expected, no dependence whatever can be placed on them. Indeed, Sir, from the acquaintance I have of the Gaikwad troops I should not be surprised if they deserted us entirely.

Kanhoji by the latest account has retired to Galiakot, distant about 35 kos.

1803 *Baroda, 3rd November, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)*

Alexander Walker to Jonathan Duncan.

Gaikwad cavalry 1. I had the honour to inform you on the 9th instant [9th October] that the detachment under Colonel Murray was attended by a little

more than 800 Gaikwad cavalry ; but by subsequent accounts it appeared that they were 100 short of that number. The original number, which the Government agreed to furnish, was 1,000, exclusive of the force under Kakaji, who was however intended to act against Kanhoji, unless we should in the first instance proceed on that expedition.

2. During the time that Colonel Murray was encamped at Godhra, there appeared considerable reason to suspect that the greatest part of the small body of Gaikwad troops would not accompany him into Malwa. My remonstrances to this Government procured orders under the Raja's seal to each of the chiefs, announcing to them that the consequence of this behaviour would be dismissal from the service. The want of pay was perhaps justly urged as the cause of their declining to proceed on a foreign service, where they had no funds for their subsistence. I had recourse, therefore, to every expedient in order to supply the wants of the Gaikwad troops, who should accompany the English army against Sindia's interior possessions ; but this was not easy to be accomplished, and it was discovered that Raje Pandhare had other motives, which led him to decline the service founded on his rank.

3. I have represented these circumstances to the Diwan, and the disgraceful consequences that would attend the desertion of the troops of his Government. I pointed out to him the good effect, which he might produce, by appearing to take a personal interest in the cause, and that this would be fully displayed by sending his brother, Sakharam Chimnaji, in command of the forces appointed to act with the British army. Sitaram agreed to this proposal, but the want even of money to defray his personal expenses was an obstacle to the immediate execution of this arrangement. A sentiment of pride also rendered the Administration averse to send this personage into the field with a force, as they conceived, so unsuitable to his rank and the Gaikwad name.

4. The Gaikwad Administration, Hon'ble Sir, are disposed to make every exertion in their power to forward the present war ; but you are acquainted with the circumscribed state of their means, and how much they are embarrassed by circumstances for which a remedy cannot be immediately applied. They are naturally solicitous to put an end to Kanhoji's career, and have repeatedly proposed that their army should accompany ours into Hindustan, if necessary, after that object was accomplished.

The forces under Babaji are of a heterogeneous kind, and chiefly entertained for the mulukgiri service exclusively. The rest, which of course is a small number, belong to the silahdar establishment, and have received varats on Kathiawar for pay, which has been five years due to them. As long as they are under the influence of this private interest, they are not likely to obey readily any summons of the Government or even of their commander, Babaji, to proceed on another service.

As it is however to be supposed that Babaji since his late success against Malharrao can spare part of his present forces, he has received, besides the public orders of the sarkar, the pressing solicitation of his relations to contribute every aid in his power to promote this object, which involves equally the security of Gujarat and the Company's own territories.

5. I was enabled to press this object further by a report that Kanhoji had retired to Galiakot in the Dungarpur district.

In answer to a memorandum which I gave to Sitaram he sent me the enclosed letter, and called on me next day to discuss the subject of it.

After a promise of pecuniary aid it was agreed at this meeting that Sakharam should on the first lucky day, which will fall out on the 5th instant, pitch his tents for the field and proceed, as soon afterwards as possible, to assume the command. He will carry with him a reinforcement of cavalry, composed of his own and his brother's pagas, the remainder of Kamal-ud-din's risalah, with some of the Raja's household troops. Amin Saheb and his Sindhis were at the same time ordered to join from Kakaji, which will leave the latter a force of about 1,800 to oppose Kanhoji and to maintain the interior government of the country.

When these arrangements are completed, the detachments of Gaikwad cavalry with Colonel Murray will probably exceed 2,000. It may be proper on this occasion to remark that the original number of 1,000 would have been furnished sooner, had it not been for the arrival of the Pathans with Fatesing.

6. There is connected with these arguments, Hon'ble Sir, a question of political consideration, which may probably have engaged your attention, and which has undoubtedly since the commencement of hostilities against Sindia been agitated in the Gaikwad country. It was a few days ago brought forward by the Raja himself during a private visit, which he made to the Residency ; and I shall beg leave respectfully to lay before you his own words : "I have many enemies at home, whose obstinate disaffection obliges me to keep many more armed men than I can pay. But God grant they were all subdued, when I should disband these expensive establishments. If I am to go to fight out of Gujarat, will the Company let me participate in their conquests ?"

7. I returned no decisive answer to His Highness, but observed that the English Government had already embraced his interests with the same warmth that they watched over their own, and that so long as he adhered steadfastly to this alliance, he would have no reason to complain either of the justice or generosity of the Company

8. At an interview with the Diwan and principal officers, the other day, they informed me that, if the Raja was elated with a hope of sharing in our successful enterprises against the enemy, it would dispose him and enable them more readily to complete the quota of troops, which depended on drafts from pagas belonging to the Raja's own family.

9. This was the collective voice of the Darbar, but they had other arguments, which they did not choose to urge in this public place, and with which I have been privately made acquainted. The alienation of the greater part of the subsidy troops from Gujarat has put the Administration to some expense, and has been the means of continuing charges which they were bent on reducing. By taking an active part in the war and bearing a share of its expense and risk, they conceive themselves entitled to participate in the advantages of success by acquiring some accession of territory.

10. I have reason to think that their expectations on this head however are very moderate, and that they might be satisfied from sources useless to us. By conceding to them a tract of territory unprofitable to us, we should gratify the vanity of the Gaikwad family and induce the Raja with more alacrity to conclude a definitive treaty, which may supply the deficiencies that exist under his several separate engagements. I shall take the liberty of concluding this subject by supposing that, if the Gaikwad Government benefits by our conquests to the eastward, we may thereby open the way to obtain much more valuable possessions in Kathiawar. The rebellious conduct of the tributary Chiefs in that country, and the daily robberies which they commit on the merchants, and their depredations on the districts of Gujarat have long given the Gaikwad Government just cause for reducing their dangerous authorities. It would be practicable, I conceive, with the concurrence and co-operation of this Administration to acquire such commercial and commanding points in Kathiawar as would at once ensure the obedience of this part of the peninsula, and put into our possession or place at our disposal all the sources of its wealth.

Camp Bairowr, 6th November, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 150)
Colonel Murray to Major-General Nicolls.

1803

I arrived here this morning with the corps under my command, *Disgusted* but I am sorry to say that not one man of the Gaikwad troops is with me. They may possibly arrive this day, but I am much afraid they will not. Kanhoji remains encamped at Galiakot, distant about 18 kos. If he maintains his present position, and even a small party of the cavalry comes up, I shall attack him the day after to-morrow.

I have much pleasure in acquainting you that the Bhils have warmly espoused our cause. The thakur of this place has promised to collect a great body of them. Others have acted as guides, and they come from all quarters, assuring me that we shall be unmolested, and that, if Kanhoji's army is defeated, not a man shall be permitted to escape. I have done everything in my power to conciliate the inhabitants of every description, and I have not been unsuccessful.

The want of co-operation on the part of the Gaikwad troops, when employed in their own service, shows what I may expect from them when we proceed towards Malwa, a service in which their immediate interest does not probably appear so clear.

Baroda, 11th November, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)
Alexander Walker to James Grant.

1803

The conduct of Jethabhai Gaikwad neither escaped my attention, *Jethabhai* nor the reprehension at the hands of the Administration. This person is however more criminal in appearance than in reality, as he was led by a very strong necessity to visit Baroda, and quitted the army not without, as he affirms, the permission of the officer commanding the Gaikwad forces. The motive of his taking his departure was to settle his accounts with Bhau Bakhshi, with whom he had arrears of three years to adjust, and who was on the eve of proceeding to join Babaji.

I cannot impute any disaffection of Jethabhai to the service on our account. On the contrary he accompanied Col. Woodington to Pavagarh

with a degree of readiness more than usual and has, besides, on every occasion since our arrival at Baroda, shown a disposition to be useful to us. An instance of this may be mentioned, which in my opinion entitles Jethabhai to a considerable share of our indulgence and favour. When the sick were very numerous, and the rains approaching, without any sufficient accommodation for them, this person relinquished for their use first a half and afterwards, as the number of patients increased, the whole of his paga, where they remained comfortably lodged, until they were removed very lately to the hospital, which has been built by the Company.

Under a due sense of his misconduct Jethabhai has asked in a very humble manner for permission to rejoin his paga, which is still with Col. Murray; and as the Diwan has proposed a mulct for his offence, I shall not deem it necessary further to oppose the desire of the former to return to the army.

1803 *Baroda, 14th November, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)*

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

Letters I have the honour to enclose a copy of a letter to Colonel Murray in consequence of the reference directed by the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of the 25th ultimo.

I have also enclosed the Colonel's answer and my reply on the same subject. I am happy to inform you that by subsequent accounts from Colonel Murray under the 7th instant Kakaji and all the Gaikwad cavalry had on that day joined the English forces.

Gaikwad help The documents that accompany the last communication will show the extent of the Gaikwad assistance and the methods which I have proposed, in conjunction with the Administration, for maintaining a good understanding between the two armies and the cordial and effective co-operation of our allies.

Agreeably to the repeated orders of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council I have endeavoured to draw forth the military resources of the Gaikwad State, to act offensively against the possessions of Daulatrao Sindia in conjunction with the forces under Colonel Murray.

In consequence of the reports of the irregularity or of the delays of their officers I suggested to Sitaram that nothing could tend more to retrieve their character, and improve their conduct, or to place the sincerity of the Gaikwad Government in a clearer light than the appointment of his brother, Sakharam Chimnaji, to command any body of troops that might be attached to the English army. I have had the honour to report that the Diwan readily acquiesced in this proposal. Sitaram only expressed an anxiety that the number of cavalry, which might accompany his brother, should be such as to give his command a respectable appearance, and that the Company should assist him with a monthly loan of money to subsist them in the field.

I have done everything in my power to meet Colonel Murray's wishes and to remove the causes of his complaints against the Gaikwad troops. In assisting these efforts I cannot doubt a moment the sincerity of the Gaikwad Government; but its servants, from long acquired and natural habit, are capable of only a certain degree of obedience. If however I am at liberty to state my own experience, I have always

found them to yield to reasons patiently and temperately urged, when they were immovable to the most positive order, although proceeding from the high authority. The intimate acquaintance of the Hon'ble the Governor with the ideas of these people and the peculiarly embarrassed state of their finance render superfluous any arguments or comments not comprehended on the accompanying documents of the negotiations on these topics.

The first is a memorandum from the Diwan, of the number of troops and the retinue, which, he proposed, should proceed with Sakharam, and an estimate of the pay for each description.

The second paper is a minute of the conversation that passed between the principal members of the Administration and my Secretary, whom I sent to the Darbar principally to make them reduce the expense of this armament. This subject I have since personally discussed with Sitaram, and some reductions have been acquiesced in. It has been generally agreed that a sum of money not exceeding 15,000 Rupees should be furnished to equip Sakharam for the field, and that 3,000 Rupees should be advanced for the support of the whole. This last payment is to continue monthly during the service and to commence from the day that the former arrive at Godhra or join Colonel Murray.

Perhaps the military aid of any Native Prince is more imposing than real; but, notwithstanding the defects in the Gaikwad military system, I should hope for considerable advantages from the co-operation of one of the most ancient and respectable of the Maratha co-estates. The reputation of the Gaikwad name is still considerable and may materially assist an expedition into Sindia's dominions, in which they will appear so unequivocally attached to the interests of the English. The Gaikwad Raja has considerable influence in Malwa, and from his consanguinity with Anandrao Pawar of Dhar, who has extensive claims or privileges over several of the intermediate Rajput tribes, we may derive from this connection some useful allies.

No. 1. Letter from Major Walker to Colonel Murray, dated Baroda, 3rd November.

I am pretty confident that the risalahs, composing what quota *Hopes* may be eventually furnished by this Government under the intermediate control of the Diwan's brother, and found in their means of subsistence by our security, will conduct themselves willingly on all future occasions, although you are well aware, Sir, of the sudden caprices of these people, if their habits be not in some measure indulged, and allowances made to reconcile them gradually to a system of service so foreign to their own conceptions.

No. 2. Letter from Colonel Murray to Major Walker, dated Camp at 1803 Bairur, 6th November, 1803.

I must in the first place observe that, unless some effectual means *Angry* are provided to insure the co-operation and obedience of the Gaikwad troops, no reliance or dependence can be placed upon them. I have only now to instance my present situation.

Gopal Govind positively disobeyed my orders to march from Virpur ; and Kakaji, though he had strongly pressed me to march in this direction,

has completely failed in his engagement to co-operate, and I am now within 18 kos of Kanhoji and an open country between us, without one of the Gaikwad troops or a cavalry soldier, except about 150 Sindhis and 20 or 25 of the Raja of Lunawada's sibandi.

Weakened as my corps unfortunately is by sickness, I must expect that the proportion of cavalry be increased, and I have therefore every hope that you will endeavour to procure from the Gaikwad Government 1,000 or 1,200 effective men at least. Mention this number in the hope of receiving the permission of the Government of Bombay to entertain from five to eight hundred men, who, from being solely in our service, will not hesitate to obey to perform such services as I may require of them.

This, Sir, will not be a more expensive equipment than paying the Gaikwad troops, and we shall have the satisfaction of knowing that some dependence can be placed upon those for whom so great an expenditure is incurred.

No. 3. Letter from Alexander Walker to Colonel Murray, dated Baroda, 13th November, 1803.

Pleads

These allies are but little accustomed to act on European principles, and their irregular conduct or habits have been the subject of complaint or regret since our arrival in Gujarat ; but I imagine that this is more or less the case with the troops of every other native alliance.

I hope sincerely that the measures, which I have adopted in concert with this Darbar for securing the future obedience of their contingent, may succeed ; but whatever may be the result of the arrangements which have formed for this purpose, I shall continue to affirm that indubitably the Gaikwad Administration itself is sincere in its intentions and in its professions of friendship and respect for the British Government.

As a proof of their desire to comply with our views, I have the pleasure to advise you of the resolution of Sitaram to send his brother, Sakharam Diwanji, to command the Gaikwad troops attached to the British forces ; and, from the favourable opinion I have formed of his disposition as well as from his rank in the State, I assure myself that he will render the troops over whom he is placed as tractable and useful as their constitutions and customs are capable of admitting.

I have enclosed a return of the forces, which Sakharam carries to the field, and which are destined to act in conjunction with the British force against the possessions of Daulatrao Sindia.

There is enclosed a copy of a memorandum which Sitaram has put into the hands of his younger brother to guide him until he shall have the honour of your acquaintance and opportunities of knowing what may be more particularly expected of him.

Besides keeping the Gaikwad contingent in order, I should hope that you may find Sakharam Chimnaji useful in the intercourse that may take place between you and some of the local Chiefs. Anandrao Pawar of Dhar, the head of powerful Maratha family, is nearly related to the Gaikwad Raja and has made several applications through the Diwan for the protection of our Government. I have the honour to enclose for your information the latest correspondence on this subject.

The officers of the Darbar who are interested in the welfare and reputation of Sakham, have generally expressed an earnest desire that Captain Bute should be the channel of communication between you and the former. I believe neither of these persons are personally known to the other, but the character of Captain Bute's mild and patient manner has reached the Darbar from the Gaikwad officers that have served with him and witnessed his behaviour. I should feel very happy, therefore, if you co-employ Capt. Bute on this especial service; and I should hope that the arrangement would be the means of preserving or promoting a cordial understanding and be productive of the best consequences to the public service.

I beg also to suggest the political advantages of allowing a guard of sepoys to Sakham, of which he is very desirous. It would be a gratifying mark of attention, secure you some control on his conduct, and publicly display to his people and to the world at large that he is acting under our auspices.

No. 4. Instructions for the guidance of Sakham Chimnaji on the 1803 expedition to Malwa in company with Colonel Murray, dated Baroda, 11th November.

The hour of marching will be determined by the Colonel, but he *Orders* will give Sakham timely notice of his intentions, and the quarter-masters of both armies will go in front and mark out the ground of encampment.

On the march Sakham's troops are not to intermingle with the Colonel's column; should the road be narrow, and bazar followers mix with them, it will be excused. But if the country through which the route lies be open and plain, it will be proper for both detachments with their respective followers to advance distinctly at a little distance at least of each other.

The entire disposition of the troops in battle belongs to Colonel Murray, whose commands Sakham must implicitly obey.

Should any Maratha sardar amongst the enemies come to a meeting or send a messenger to Sakham for peace, such circumstance must be intimated to the Colonel, its sincerity well weighed with its advantages, and truly stated to Colonel Murray, who will give his decisive answer.

Should any Mewasi or Chiefs on the way come to enter into engagements, Sakham will make a right report of their wishes to Colonel Murray, who will, if he approves, comply therewith.

It is probable that there may be disputes between the lower orders in the Colonel's detachment and the Marathas, when in the same place; but it should be no cause of grudge, and offenders should be regularly carried to their respective officers for reproof and chastisement.

As the Marathas are accustomed to plunder in their own and foreign countries, Sakham is recommended to suppress that practice within these territories; nor ought pillage to be permitted beyond these bounds, unless the Colonel conceives it proper in any case to authorise it.

Sakham must enjoin the spirit-dealers in his camp not to sell daru or any stupefying liquor to the English soldiers or sepoys.

Provisions reaching camp will be shared out according to the wants of each detachment, and both must keep their own store.

In the event of sending out a party in the enemies' country, each detachment must furnish a proportion.

On entering Malwa, if that country becomes a conquest, Sakharam will give every information in his power verbally or by writing to Colonel Murray for the management of it, and it will be settled in the best manner for the public advantage, as it is supposed that its resources will be a relief to the wants of both armies.

The picketers in front and rear will be furnished as may be agreed on after the junction of the two armies.

Marching and encamping should be according to the Company's custom.

As the success of the enterprise depends on the zeal and cordial co-operation of those who are destined to it, Sakharam and every one under him must conceive their own and the English troops as no way different, being embarked in the same cause.

1803 No. 5. *Minutes of conversation between the principal members of the Darbar and the Resident's Secretary, dated 8th November.*

*Kakaji
defended*

On repairing to the Darbar, I entered on the object of my mission with Sitaram, his brother Sakharam, and Madhavrao Tatya. After the ordinary compliments and introductory conversation I remarked, as instructed, the cause of dissatisfaction which the conduct of Kakaji has given to Colonel Murray, and required an express declaration of the Diwan Sitaram's willingness to detach his younger brother, Sakharam, also styled Diwanji, with the contingent of 2,000 cavalry, which the Resident had concluded should accompany the Colonel in his intended invasion of Malwa, and recommended his proceeding to the present quarters of the Colonel immediately, on his way against Kanhoji, in consequence of the disappointment Kakaji had given to him; instead of going to Bariya and waiting the Colonel's approach to that post, as originally proposed by the Resident. Madhavrao Tatya remarked that the idea of Kakaji's disaffection was entirely a mistake, as that officer had written that their order of march would keep them separate for the space of several kos till they came near to the ground of action, when Kakaji would be up, he ventured to affirm, undoubtedly. Sitaram hereto assented, and said moreover that his orders of this day would reach Kakaji to-morrow; and he seemed, on my suspecting the submissiveness of Kakaji to his will, pretty confident that they would be obeyed on this occasion and all others.

*Sakharam
ready*

As to the detaching of the Diwanji, they declared, in one voice and separately repeated their desire thus to show their sincere disposition, of entering into the views of our Government or complying with the wishes of the Resident, and as steadily insisted that the only objection to putting it into execution immediately was the want of cash to carry him with a necessary number of agents and the army under his command away from the place with credit and equipped for such an expedition, and [*the want of cash*] to continue to them the means of maintenance beyond their own bounds in a country almost deserted, and where the necessaries of life are very dear, and not the means of purchasing them to be borrowed. Sitaram said without this assistance from the Company his brother and the troops could not march on foreign service, nor stay

out in a scene so remote from home. All he asked was a loan in advance, (after stating various estimates) of Rupees 40,000, and that sum continued to be extended monthly, while the Diwanji was employed on the intended service with his detachment, which was to consist of 2,000 horsemen, and 500 foot sibandi, a proportion of artillery and other people proper for a person of his rank, and in their opinion to render its respectability apparent to all the world, including stores, camels and the means of conveyance and of subsistence. He remarked that this was a considerable reduction in his first estimate, and, compared with the Sindhi sowars and other hiring horse entertained by Colonel Murray, fell far short of the allowance granted to them. He laid no stress on paralleling their situations, as he did not supply these troops, or bargain for them with a view to immediate pecuniary profit, but to show they could not subsist upon less than he wished to borrow or provide for their subsistence. He stated the disposal of this sum into the following heads: Rupees, 20,000 for 2,000 cavalry would only be half pay, or Rupees 10 for the feeding of each trooper, horse and keeper; supposing the silahdars' pay included, it would be much less. Rupees 5,000 would barely maintain 500 infantry with their officers, Rupees 3,000 would be required for the modikhana or provision department (confined to grain chiefly for the cavalry and cattle); and the commander with his train could not cross the limits of their country with ease and éclat under an allowance of Rupees 12,000 per month. He declared, if this assistance was afforded, and a string of camels now at this place given to his brother, he would take his departure within a week to join Colonel Murray.

I told them that the Resident would advance Rupees 20,000, and continue to provide that sum for them monthly while on the service in question, assisting the Diwanji in his outset with Rupees 8,000 for the purchase of camels and articles of equipment, and also in the event of wants arising beyond what that could meet, that he would endeavour to relieve them.

Bombay, 18th November, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)

1803

James Grant to Alexander Walker.

We have received your letter of the 3rd of November with the *Promises* several papers that accompany it.

We are sensible of the weight due to the existing political circumstances in Gujarat in accounting for the backwardness and inefficiency hitherto experienced in the co-operation of the State of the Gaikwad as connected with Colonel Murray's intentions to march into Malwa, a measure which, as far as the Hon'ble Major-General Wellesley may have authorised, we are earnestly desirous of promoting; approving entirely, in this view of your recommendation to the Gaikwad Darbar of the 1st of November, with the consequent arrangement as having for object to prevent as far as possible Kanhoji remaining in arms or [*to prevent*] the length, into which any negotiation with him may unavoidably extend itself, from obstructing for a moment the most effectual prosecution, on this side, of the general war; in event of the success of which, in conjunction with real aid from Raja Anandrao's Government, there occurs no reason to doubt that the Supreme Government would be ready to evince towards the Gaikwad sarkar a due sense

of the service in further instance of that justice and generosity that have hitherto been so uniformly displayed in all His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General's orders and instructions concerning the State in question ; in so much that, judging from this experience, we have little or no hesitation in sanctioning, as far as may depend on us, your satisfying the Raja and his Minister in respect to the concessions to be eventually made in their favour to the degree adverted to in your 10th paragraph ; but all must of course depend on their activity and exertions, in proportion to which they need not, we think, doubt of a suitable return.

1803 *Bombay, 18th November, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)*

James Grant to John Lumsden.

Walker's policy I am directed by the Hon^{ble} the Governor-in-Council to transmit to you for the notice of His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General-in-Council, the enclosed copy of a letter from the Resident at Baroda, under date the 3rd instant, with the papers mentioned to accompany it.

In that dispatch Major Walker points out the difficulties that have hitherto opposed the favourable disposition manifested by the Gaikwad Administration to co-operate in the present war, and details the further arrangements concerted and orders issued for collecting a body of 2,000 cavalry to be placed under the command of Sakharam Chimnaji, the Diwan's brother, and for ensuring the exertions of that force in concert with the British army on its meditated movement into Malwa, besides leaving a disposable force of 1,000 horse under Kakaji to oppose Kanhoji and to maintain the interior government of the country, independently of the force in Kathiawar, commanded by Babaji, part of which may, in consequence of his recent success against Malharrao, admit of being detached to the eastern frontier of Gujarat in promotion of the objects here indicated.

From the sequel of Major Walker's dispatch it appears that, in the course of the discussions, which led to these renewed efforts on the part of the Gaikwad Government, a question arose as to the degree in which that Administration might be admitted to participate in the conquests incident to the operations of the war ; in reference to which it will be found to be remarked by Major Walker that their expectations on that head are very moderate and might be satisfied from sources unprofitable to the British Government ; whilst a concession of this nature would gratify the vanity of the Gaikwad family and induce the Raja with more alacrity to conclude a definitive treaty, calculated to supply the deficiencies that may still exist in the several engagements hitherto contracted with that State ; at the same time that the Resident seems to think that for any cessions thus to be made to the eastward an equivalent might, at least, be hereafter obtained in Kathiawar.

The Governor-in-Council is sensible of the weight due to the existing political circumstances in accounting for the backwardness and inefficiency hitherto experienced in the co-operation of the Gaikwad State, as connected with Colonel Murray's intention to march into Malwa, a measure which, as far as the Hon^{ble} Major-General Wellesley may have authorised, this Government is earnestly desirous of promoting,

and has in this view entirely approved of Major Walker's recommendations to the Gaikwad Darbar, of the 1st of November, with the consequent arrangements, as having for object to prevent as far as possible Kanhoji's remaining in arms, or [*to prevent*] the length into which any negotiation with him might unavoidably extend itself from obstructing for a moment the most effectual prosecution, on that side, of the general war; in the event of the success of which, in conjunction with real aid from Raja Anandrao's Government, it has been signified to the Resident at Baroda that there seems no reason to doubt that the Supreme Government would be ready to evince towards the Gaikwad sarkar a due sense of the service, in further instance of that justice and generosity that have hitherto been so uniformly displayed in all His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General's orders and instructions concerning the State in question; in so much that, judging from this experience, the Governor-in-Council has caused it to be signified to Major Walker that this Government have little or no hesitation in sanctioning, as far as may depend on it, his satisfying the Raja and his Ministers in respect to the degree adverted to in his 10th paragraph, but that all must of course depend on their activity and exertions, and that in proportion to these they need not doubt of a suitable return.

Camp Lunawada, 18th November, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)

1803

John Murray to Alexander Walker.

I have this morning received your letter of the 13th¹ with its enclosures. *Troops useless*

I feel great satisfaction at your assurance of the attachment of the Gaikwad Government to the British interests and no less so in the favourable opinion you express of Sakharum Diwanji. It would appear that he is more immediately concerned in our successes, which may perhaps induce him to act in a different manner from those who have hitherto been attached to this corps. I doubt however his influence over any of the Chiefs.

I beg leave on the return of the troops, with which you have favoured me, to observe that Amin Saheb, Raja Pandhre and Gopal Govind refused to march, and are now with Kakaji. The number of their cavalry is stated at 675. The two first, I have every reason to believe, will not obey any orders which they do not like. Jethabhai's paga I do not expect; and from the former conduct of that officer it is of little consequence whether he joins the army or not; of the others I know nothing; but, unless actuated by a very different spirit than the corps under the command of Kakaji, or curbed by the authority of the Diwanji, very little service can be expected from them.

I have thought it necessary thus to declare my opinion of these troops, both as to the probable diminution of the number and of their general disposition towards us, that it may not be conceived that I have an actual force of 2,000 men serviceable and at command; from which it might be expected that I should do more than I probably may be able to accomplish.

With respect to the Diwanji's wish to have a sepoy guard, it is a *Guard* matter of no great consequence, provided he is satisfied with such a

1. See entry of the 14th November, enclosure No. 3.

guard as can be spared, which must be very small. I confess however in my opinion the less we mix the better; and as I must be, unless in cases of emergency, in camp at a great distance from him, it will be inconvenient at present; our guards are so weak as hardly to protect our departments from robbers, and yet the men are harassed with duty; when we shall be obliged to protect them from lutas we shall have few sepoys to spare.

Liaison In answer to that part of your letter pressing that Captain Bute should be the channel of communication with the Diwanji, I have only to say that being in my family it naturally falls to his share to carry such messages I have to communicate; but, as he has many other duties to attend to, and does not speak the language in that fluency which is often required, I cannot confine myself to him as a medium of communication. Captain Burr, who possesses the same conciliating manner, who is master of the language, and in whose department almost all the business lies, which I shall have to transact with the Diwanji, will frequently be employed and, I make no doubt, will, as he has hitherto done, give me every satisfaction.

I shall be obliged to you to press the march of the Diwanji to *Kakaji* Godhra. It is the more necessary as Kakaji, to whom I wrote requesting him to encamp at Virpur, marched the day after the receipt of my letter, as I am informed by my kasids, in the opposite direction. With my letter was that from Sitaram Bapu directing Kakaji to join me and obey such orders as he should receive.

Kakaji is, I believe, at present at Modasa, collecting the revenue, when there is every appearance of an invasion in this quarter. I have informed him of the junction of Balchand and Kanhoji, to which however he pays no sort of attention.

I have this day received intelligence of the arrival of a body of *Enemy* Sindia's troops from the southward on the Narbada. I presume from the intelligence that I have received from General Wellesley that this body is a part of the army under Sindia's immediate command. Sindia's family is likewise said to be arrived at Ujjain, and a large body of Holkar's troops are supposed to be at Udaipur. This probably is the corps under Harnath. All this intelligence makes me extremely anxious for the reinforcements which I have ordered from Surat, Broach and Baroda, without which I shall probably be obliged to fall back.

1803 *Bombay*, 21st November, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)

James Grant to John Lumsden.

The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council directs me to forward to you *Walker's* for the information of His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-
proposals General-in-Council the accompanying copy of a dispatch from the Resident at Baroda, under date the 14th instant, containing a report of the further measures adopted by him for obtaining from the Gaikwad Government the aid of a body of cavalry to the number of 2,000, and for ensuring their cordial and effective co-operation with the British force under the command of Colonel Murray offensively against the possessions of Daulatrao Sindia [*in*] Malwa.

From the documents included in the dispatch from Major Walker it will appear (as already intimated in the advices forwarded on the 18th instant) that Sakharam Chinnaji, the brother of the Diwan, is to

take the field with a body of 2,000 horse and 500 foot, and that the expense of the equipment is estimated to amount to the monthly sum of Rupees 62,915; but from this may be deducted Rupees 7,000 on account of purchase of camels, which, although inserted in the estimate of this expenditure, cannot constitute a future monthly charge; and besides this item, the Resident adverts to a reduction under other heads.

From the peculiarly embarrassed state of the finances of the Gaikwad State this military aid did not admit of being drawn forth without a loan of money from British Government to subsist their troops in the field; and it accordingly appears to have been agreed between the Resident and the Diwan that a sum not exceeding 15,000 Rupees should be furnished to equip Sakham, and that 30,000 Rupees should be advanced for the support of the whole; which last payment is to continue monthly during the service, and to commence from the date that the forces arrive at Godhra or join Colonel Murray.

Notwithstanding the defects in the Gaikwad military system, Major Walker seems to look for considerable advantages from the co-operation of the force in question, an expectation founded on his knowledge of the influence of the Gaikwad family in Malwa and its consanguinity with Anandrao Pawar of Dhar, who is noticed to have extensive claims over several of the intermediate Rajas and tribes, whose aid may prove useful.

The proceedings thus reported by Major Walker have been approved by the Governor-in-Council on the grounds already adverted to in the dispatch to you, dated the 18th instant. As connected with the subject of these advices, I am further directed to transmit to you the copy of a letter from Major Walker, dated the 13th of November, with the papers mentioned to accompany it, showing the degree of connection which subsists between the Gaikwad State and the petty Chiefs who possess territory between Gujarat and Malwa and also with the Chieftain of Dhar, who, in common with the rest, has solicited the English protection.

Baroda, 23rd November, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)

1803

Alexander Walker to John Murray.

I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 18th November. *Excuses*

I am sensible that you have had cause to distrust the zeal and services of the Gaikwad troops; but I would rather attribute their disobedience and insubordination to the want of pay, which has naturally produced many of the licentious habits of which you justly complain.

I was not aware of the objections to employ Captain Bute; but I am happy that the arrival of my assistant, Lieutenant Carnac, affords me an opportunity of attaching him to the Diwanji. This gentleman is personally acquainted with most of the Gaikwad sardars; and having been accustomed to close habits of correspondence with many of them, I have no doubt he will prove himself particularly useful in securing a more ready co-operation with your views. *Carnac*

I have instructed Mr. Carnac to pitch his tent beside the Diwanji's and to reside entirely in his camp, that he may more effectually engage him to perform punctually your orders. Mr. Carnac will of course receive such instructions as you think necessary for the discharge of these duties.

1803 *Baroda, 25th November, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)*

Alexander Walker to James Carnac.

Orders You are appointed to accompany Sakharam Chimanji Diwanji, who goes in command of a force, furnished by the Gaikwad Government, to act in conjunction with the British army and under the orders of Colonel Murray. Having perused the correspondence and documents that have passed on this occasion, and taken such extracts as are necessary for your information and observance, these will serve for your instructions. I have only to add that the leading objects of your deputation are to preserve a good understanding between the Colonel and the Diwanji, and by seasonable advice to the latter to obtain a more prompt and effective co-operation from the allies than the means hitherto pursued have accomplished.

On marching days you may keep company with the Diwanji or advance with his binis, as may appear most beneficial to promote the order and good of the service.

When encamped, you will pitch your tent as near the Diwanji's as may not be inconvenient to him, and you [*will*] find it highly useful to encourage a frequent intercourse with that person as well as with his officers ; treating them on every occasion with kindness and that degree of respect which is due to them by the customs of the country or by the rules of their Government.

To effect these several views will require your most unremitting attention, and I conceive it will be absolutely necessary for you to reside entirely in the Diwanji's camp.

You will of course consider yourself as acting under Colonel Murray's immediate orders, and communicate the commands, he may signify through you, scrupulously but with delicacy to Sakharam.

I request that you will be so good as to write me frequently of all occurrences, and I flatter myself that your agency will produce the best effects.

1803 *Baroda, 29th November, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)*

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

Gaikwad troops I have done everything in my power to render the co-operation of the Gaikwad troops as efficient as their constitution and habits will allow. The Diwan has likewise employed all the influence of his office in favour of this object, and I hope that the measures, which are now under trial, will not prove entirely unsuccessful.

The enclosed correspondence with Kakaji contains all the explanations in my possession respecting the period in question. This correspondence is comprised in a letter from me to Kakaji, and two from that person, *viz.* one to Sitaram's address and another to mine.

1803 No. 1. *Letter from Major Walker to Raghunath Mahipat Kakaji, dated Baroda, 8th November, 1803.*

Kakaji blamed It is with surprise that I have learnt you did not join Col. Murray at Virpur. You will recollect how loudly and with what importunity you called for the battalion to chastise Kanhoji. I have pledged myself to the English sardars that they would experience in you a zealous and able partisan. I have promised them the full assistance of the

troops under your command. In all these things they have been disappointed, and your delays have befriended Kanhoji. What opinion indeed can Col. Murray, a stranger to you, form but that you are inimical to the cause, and unwilling to crush the enemy of the State and of your family? You are losing your time in making arrangements for the revenue, while you should be wholly employed in putting an end to this rebellion. In this manner you are sacrificing your own reputation and the interests of the Government. If Col. Murray should advance alone upon the enemy, how disgraceful will it be to you?

It is your duty, Kakaji, to follow the course that appears proper to the Colonel, and to march with him for the overthrow of Kanhoji. If you neglect this opportunity, it may never return; and if it fails of success, you alone will be to blame, although the English Government in India will lay it to the charge of the Gaikwad Administration, for whose cordial co-operation with our troops I have often ventured to give them every assurance. Therefore I have written thus pressingly to you for the preservation of all our credits, when every energy is required to be put in motion.

No. 2. Letter from Raghunath Mahipat Kakaji to Sitaram and Sakharam 1803 Diwanji.

On the 27th at noon I received your letter of the 8th November. *Kakaji's excuses* It is written with emphasis and accuses me and Raje Pandhare and Gopal Govind, of not having arrived with our troops when the Colonel went from Virpur in the face of the enemy, at which Major Walker has felt exceedingly displeased.

I have before advised you that a fall of rain caused us to be a day or two later in reaching Virpur and joining the Colonel.

When I was at Secunderpur within 14 kos of the enemy, your letter arrived, directing me to come and meet the English at Balasinor, and not to advance without doing so. Wherefore I quitted my commanding position and came to Kapadvanj. It having become known to Kanhoji that after a junction the plan was to attack his force, he caught the alarm and fled, whereby a distance of twenty-five kos separated him and me. How then could the enemy be near the English detachment, which had got before me but four kos, I cannot comprehend; or, Baba Saheb, how could it be alleged that after approaching the enemy I felt like a coward and kept in the rear? You know me too well to suppose I should be indifferent to such an object as overcoming the enemy of the sarkar. But the English commander, having got before me few kos, has circulated this against me.

The English went back when the report was brought of Kanhoji having gone to Banswara. But fear not; Shri Samba, the Almighty, is our protector. Kanhoji is still at Banswara. I have a check upon him, and have begun to turn my attention to the recovering of revenues.

The Colonel's and my meeting was at Itadid, where he and I heard that Kanhoji had gone in the course of day and night twenty kos to Galiakot; on which occasion the Colonel remarked he saw no use in following him. When I replied it was in our country, he asked if they were ghasdana or jamabandi districts. I told him that there was money both on account of ghasdana and jamabandi derived therefrom. He

then told me that he had to go to Ujjain, and had something to say to me in private ; I answered : "Very well." The Colonel then spoke to Captain Burr in English, and Captain Burr and I sat down together, when the Gentleman said : "We must set out immediately, and Kanhoji has gone far away. You must therefore come along with us, and we will pay your ghasdana money with interest and make a provision for defraying your expenses ; come with all your force." I return for answer : "I have no orders for that." Captain Burr asked if I obeyed nobody. "If you do not obey, an order will be brought from Baroda." I answered : "I will also write to Baroda, but let us go on four journeys till these orders come ; and if the enemy keeps his position, we will plunder him, while, if he flees, we need not follow." To which he replied to me : "We will come, but give me your word that you will accompany us." I answered that the order from Baroda would supersede the necessity of taking my word, adding for the sake of example : "Your conduct is regulated by the orders of your Government ; it is equally incumbent on me to have and abide by the orders of mine, and I will act according to the answer that may come from Baroda." In this manner were matters mutually understood. They went to Balasinor, and I to Betvada.

It was agreed to march (the English and Gaikwad bodies of troops) clear of each other about five kos ; which order I was observing. They got on to Nirodia. I was at Agas (or Vagas). It rained ; I remained there, they remained at Nirodia. I went to Nirodia, they had gone to Bankrol. I followed to Bankerbund three kos, and the next day arrived at Bankrol, intending to encamp in front. Narayanrao was going forward in the bini (advanced guard). They told him not to go before them, saying : "We will go in front," as I was informed on inquiring why the baggage was brought to a stand, in which situation I found it. Captain Burr came and invited me to an interview. I went at 3 o'clock. I had twice sent my respects by Bapu. I went at 3 o'clock to pay my visit. They were walking without. When I had gone into the tent and taken a seat, they came and joined me. We entered into conversation and talked about two hours, in the course of which the frequent reports of Kanhoji's situation were spoken of among other things, and the Colonel resolved on his next ground of encampment. He desired me to furnish two hundred binis as a party for the advance guard to move off two hours before morning, and directed me to keep behind and bring up the baggage. I agreed to all that. Two hours before break of day the gun fired. The binis were prepared. While an hour of night yet remained, Captain Burr came to me and told me that Colonel had received intelligence of Kanhoji's having gone from Galiakot, and that we should not move till more accounts arrived. I proposed going on, as we were all ready, three kos to the tank of Mullika, and advance, if further intelligence favoured that plan. The same day Captain Burr went to Pandervada for provisions.

The next day I went to the Colonel, where a confirmation of Kanhoji's flight had been received, which had also reached me. The Colonel said : "He is gone, provisions and forage are scarce ; he is not in your country, and it is therefore unnecessary to go further on. It will only distress the inhabitants," and so forth. I prayed him to proceed

to Peit which was but 12 kos in front. The Colonel however plainly declared that his object would be lost, and desired me to return with him. I said I had no intention or authority to return.

The Colonel on the 10th November set out for Lunawada. I kept my ground that day. On the next I came to Pandervada. Thence I came to Kurva Migaris.

From the day we met at Itadi I complied with his wishes. Could I keep off the rain, the only cause of one day's delay on my part, and the difference of a few kos falling between us?

I am sorry the Major is displeased at me. Baba Saheb, I am not absolutely the worst of men. Have I no sense but to take my supply of food? Would I remain in the rear or retreat, if he had made a long march, and attacked the enemy, or got within two kos of him? However what has happened is past. It is very well, the infamy has fallen upon my head.

Thus I have written you a letter of three sheets long, which you should keep as a voucher; and when opportunity offers, submit to the Colonel the veracity of its contents. If I have asserted a falsehood, I do not desire that you should ever look upon my face again.

No. 3. Letter from Raghunath Kakaji to Alexander Walker, dated 16th November, 1803.

On receipt of your former letter, desiring me to join Colonel Murray *Kakaji's* and act against Kanhoji according to the plan that should be determined *excuse* on by the Colonel, I came and encamped at Kapadvanj and Betvada fifteen days, waiting to meet the Colonel, who, on his arrival at Balasinor, answered a letter from me, agreeing to have an interview at Vutadu, which took place accordingly, the conversation naturally turning to the subject of subduing Kanhoji, to the following effect.

The Colonel proposed through Captain Burr, who acted as interpreter, that our conference should be private. I readily assented. The Captain then, who had received his instructions from the Colonel, and myself sat down together; and Captain Burr began by saying: "Kanhoji has left Dadalu and gone to Galiakot, why should we follow him? We have to go to Malwa." I observed that they should continue farther and go even to Galikot for once, when we would see whether he would stand, or what he designed. Captain Burr answered: "We have no orders for that; but, if you will listen to our proposal, we will come." I begged him to say what it was. He said: "The Colonel is come upon the service of the Company's Government, and you must accompany him on the part of the Gaikwad with all your forces." I answered: "Very well; but in the same manner as you act under the orders of the Company, I require to have the orders of my Master." The Captain replied: "We will write to Baroda and obtain orders." I said: "Very well, bring orders, and be assured I am ready." Whether he wrote thereon, God knows. I only addressed Sitaram on the occasion. Afterwards Captain Burr told me that the Colonel wished to advance three or four marches until an answer arrived from Baroda; and that we should keep separated five or six kos, and reciprocally communicate the intelligence that reached us. Thus it was spoken and settled that I should go by Amli, while the Colonel moved on by Rampur, with a view of a com-

manding in two directions the motions of the enemy. After this interview and determination, I came back to Betvada, when the Colonel went to Balasinor. After that the Colonel's letter came, desiring me to meet him at Virpur, where the route would be resolved upon and pursued, that led to the enemy. On receipt thereof I left the road by Amli and came to the village of Savla for Virpur. There in the night a great deal of rain fell, and the tents got very wet and heavy, but I hurried off lest the Colonel should cry out against me, and made a forward march of 12 kos (18 miles) to Vagas. It poured down all day and all night, whereby the tents and every article of equipment got wet and acquired a fourfold weight. Wherefore I halted there; which is about three kos from Virpur, whence the Colonel on the day I reached Vagas marched to Nirodia. I marched the next day to Nirodia (whence the Colonel had on the morning gone on to Bankul four kos off) where we were obliged to halt owing to a skirmish begun between my biniwalla or advanced guard and the Nirodia Kolis or Bhils, who had set upon six carts sent back by Colonel Murray for provisions, from which they carried off twenty-two bullocks. Some bullocks were recovered by our binis, who lost a horse or two killed and as many wounded. I came up before the scuffle ended; and as it was drawing to night, I there encamped.

On the following day I went to Bankrol and went to the Colonel. In conversation it was agreed that we should advance next morning. My binis before the dawn were to go in front, followed by the English army, and I was to bring up the baggage and bazar.

Having agreed to this order of march, and gone into my tent, and given the evening audience and orders for the binis and everybody to be in their places betimes, the Colonel sent Captain Burr to me, who said: "The Colonel means to halt here to-day, because provisions cannot come up to Dungarpur after we are gone; therefore we must collect a store; in the meantime we will have news from Kanhoji and will afterwards go on." I answered: "I am under his orders and will obey them; however Kanhoji will get to a distance, and I would advise to advance daily as far as the guns and baggage could go; the road in front we are not well acquainted with, but by the third day we will reach Galiakot."

Orders were given to halt that day; and Capt. Burr at the same time went to Pandervada for provisions, with which he returned in the evening. I sent to inquire if we marched in the morning; an answer came that we should meet and consult to-morrow.

On the morrow Bapu dubash was sent to say that to-morrow we should march. After this message I went, and waited on the Colonel, who said: "We will march to-morrow not in front, but back to Virpur. You must go with us." I answered that orders had not arrived to me for giving up the object of chastising or keeping Kanhoji in awe, and how could I accompany him? The Colonel asked: "What was our agreement." I answered it was true that we had made an agreement, but observed that my young friend, Sakharam Diwanji, was appointed to join him with a contingent force, and that my orders were first to co-operate cordially and with all my might under the Colonel's directions completely to overcome Kanhoji. Often and in every way I entreated the Colonel to advance a march or two, suggesting that all his baggage

might he deposited at Peit and every soldier should rush forward. To all that the colonel answer : " My resolution is fixed, I go to Virpur, If you don't come, then it is as you please." Having spoken in this manner he went towards Lunawada. I gave him a hundred horse to accompany him to Godhra.

Kanhoji from Galiakot has crossed the Mahi and made off for Banswara, distant from our army forty kos. Major, foreseeing that the Colonel, from my being one day behind because of the rain, would write in such a manner as to excite your displeasure, I advised Sitaram of what had happened, to inform you thereof, which he will have done ; and you have remonstrated with me on maintaining the credit of the sarkar very strongly, which on your part is very right ; but how could it be believed that I should be behind, if the enemy and Colonel Murray were within ten or fifteen kos of each other, and from my heart I wished and hoped from the presence of the Company's troops to overthrow the enemy ? But the enemy from fear of the valour of your troops fled. What could I do then ?

Major Walker, with the Company's help I value the foe, as I do a blade of grass. The credit of Senakhaskhel (the Gaikwad Raja) is protected by the Hon'ble Company ; which places apprehensions for it at a distance. Enemies, from your fame, will fall at your feet. Kanhoji is gone to a distance, and I am watching to keep him so, or punishing him if he approaches. Is it not incumbent on me to endeavour to extinguish his rebellion ? I am not absolutely the worst of men. Because the rains detained me on the road one day behind, and while it was the Colonel's wish that I should keep five or six kos wide of him on the march in the rear or abreast, the Colonel has thus complained of my conduct.

I set out with confidence in the Colonel on your letters and those of Sitaram, and came to Kapadvanj to meet him, quitting the watch I was upon.

Please to write me often, and continue your friendship to me as heretofore.

Camp, 2nd December, 1803 (Wellington's Dispatches)

1803

Major-General Wellesley to Colonel Murray.

I am concerned to observe the state of your Maratha cavalry and the trouble they give you by plundering the country ; there is no remedy for it, but I positively forbid it. I recommend to you to have a conference upon this point with the Chiefs of the Gaikwad troops to tell him that this must be stopped, and that you are determined to punish with the utmost severity any that might be guilty of it. If my Maratha allies did not know that I should hang any one that might be found plundering, not only I should have starved long ago, but most probably my own coat would have been taken from my back.

Discipline

Camp, 2nd December, 1803 (Wellington's Dispatches)

1803

Major-General Wellesley to Colonel Murray.

There is no intention whatever, at least I shall never consent to the measure, to give the countries conquered in Gujarat to the Gaikwad Government to pay for their troops. *No share*

1803 *Bombay, 12th December, 1803 (1803/04, P. D. Let. to C. of Dir. 4)*
Bombay to the Company.

*Gaikwad
troops*

24. When the force under the command of Colonel Murray was first assembled on the frontier, a body of Gaikwad cavalry, to the number of about 1,000, was appointed to attend him; and on the occasion of the Colonel's movement, early in the month of October, towards Lunawada with a view to counteract any attempt of Kanhojirao Gaikwad (then said to be with a considerable force in that vicinity) to penetrate into Gujarat, the contingent of cavalry was ordered to attend the British force; but so reiterated were Colonel Murray's reports of their want of punctuality and neglect of orders that, to remove every possible obstruction to the success of his operations in that quarter, the Colonel was on the 28th of October authorised, in the event of their still proving inefficient, to use his discretion in providing himself with a body of silahdars or other description of country cavalry, or of armed natives from among the Bhils, or otherwise as he should deem useful, for the expense of which he was permitted to draw on the paymaster.

25. From the stated untractability and insubordination of the division of the Gaikwad cavalry thus sent into the field, the Baroda Administration, on a representation of the circumstances from our Resident, Major Walker, determined on a further effort to furnish a more effective contingent, and as a means the most likely of ensuring this object, and its cordial co-operation with the British forces in acting offensively against the possessions of Daulatrao Sindia in Malwa, it was agreed that Sakharam Chimnaji, the brother of Sitaram, the Gaikwad minister, should himself take the field with a body of 2,000 horse and 500 foot, the expense of this equipment being estimated to amount to the monthly sum of about Rupees 60,000.

26. From the peculiarly embarrassed state of the finances of the Gaikwad State this military aid did not admit of being called forth without loan of money from your Government to subsist the troops in the field; and it was accordingly agreed that a sum not exceeding Rupees 15,000 should be furnished to equip Sakharam, and that 30,000 Rupees should be advanced for the support of the whole, the last payment continuing monthly during the service, and commencing from the period when those forces should arrive at Godhra or join Colonel Murray, with which it was at that period the intention that Colonel Murray should be prepared to advance against Ujjain, the capital of Sindia, as soon as the Hon'ble Major-General Wellesley should authorise him to pass beyond Dohad, which is understood to be the frontier town between the subahs of Gujarat and of Malwa.

27. Notwithstanding the cause for the repeated complaints by Colonel Murray of the Gaikwad auxiliaries, arising no doubt principally from their pecuniary embarrassments and the great difference between the organisation of their and our military systems, Major Walker seemed to look for considerable advantages from the co-operation of the force in question, an expectation founded on the Gaikwad family being ascertained to have considerable influence in Malwa and connections on the frontier, whose aid might prove useful in the course of future military operations.

61. The conduct of the Gaikwad cavalry, appointed to co-operate with Colonel Murray for the purposes of the war having been adverted to in a former part of this address, we here beg leave to refer to an annexed copy of a dispatch since received from the Resident at Baroda under date the 29th ultimo [November], in which are included the explanations of Kakaji, one of the Gaikwad commanders in reference to the complaints thus preferred.

Baroda, 14th December, 1803 (1803, P. D. 52)

1803

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

The reasons which Kakaji assigned to his Government for moving *Kakaji* towards Idar were to guard that quarter against Kanhoji and to make *excused* the collections there.

In this instance Kakaji appears to have acted fortunately so as to meet events; for under the 3rd instant Colonel Murray informed me that he had lost sight of Kakaji, but it was necessary that he should remain in the Idar or Modasa pargana for some time at least.

Bombay, 26th December, 1803 (1803, S. & P. D. 152)

1803

Remarks of the Bombay Council on the dissensions between Colonel Murray and Kakaji.

38. On the 6th of November the Colonel complains, from his camp *Kakaji* at Bakrur, of delay on the part of the force destined by the Gaikwad *defended* Government to co-operate with him in the attack on Kanhoji, who is mentioned to be at Galiakot about 27 miles off, and whither it was the Colonel's intention to march to attack him, if only a small part of the Gaikwad cavalry came up, as by his (the Colonel's) report of the immediately subsequent date it appears they had accordingly done in the course of the day preceding; whereupon the Colonel intended to have advanced within a few kos of Kanhoji's position, but received, after the tents were struck, the intelligence that he had quitted his afore-mentioned post of Galiakot and retired to Sagwara, whence, as it was (the Colonel observed) evidently his intention to avoid an engagement, the allied force would follow him no farther at that period, lest it should by advancing infringe the neutrality with Holkar; whose motions near that frontier appeared however to the Colonel to be so suspicious that he had ordered up a reinforcement of Europeans from the garrisons of Surat and Parneira; of all which this Government expressed its approbation; and having also previously acceded to the Colonel's proposal to be allowed to raise an indefinite corps of native cavalry on the Company's sure account, he wrote under date the 13th of November from his camp at Lunawada that this licence would soon make him independent of the Gaikwad Government, announcing at the same time his intention to enter Malwa by the route of Dohad, on the arrival of some of his expected reinforcements, which he notices that the desertion of the Gaikwad troops had rendered necessary. This reputed desertion is however in the proper and ordinary sense of that term very strenuously denied by Kakaji, the Gaikwad commander, who confidently affirms in his defence, accompanying Major Walker's letter of the 16th of November, that he was ready and willing, but that, in consequence of Colonel Murray's determining very much to his

(Kakaji's) disappointment on the 7th to advance no farther against Kanhoji, the Gaikwad cavalry, which had joined under this native's command, proceeded towards Idar, on the other duties of the collections and for the defence of the country from invasion by Kanhoji on that exposed side of it ; and it is noticed by Major Walker in his letter of the 14th of December that in this instance Kakaji appears to have acted fortunately so as to meet events ; for, under the 3rd instant, Colonel Murray had informed the Major that he had lost sight of Kakaji, but it was necessary that he should remain in the Idar or adjoining Modasa pargana for some time at least.

1803 *Baroda, 28th December, 1803 (1804, P. D. B. M. 63A)*

Alexander Walker to Kakaji.

Trust in Kakaji The daily correspondence of our friend Sitaram has rendered mine of late unnecessary. The Diwan showed me your letter respecting the recall of Khushaba ; and it was our joint opinion that you should not part with him for some time. The necessity of public affairs and of the service, in which you are particularly engaged, will reconcile Babaji to this measure. In a few weeks, perhaps within a less period of time, everything will be determined, and neither the foes of the English nor of the Gaikwad Government will have more than a name. In this interval it is of the greatest importance to guard the passes of Idar and Modasa. This honourable service is entrusted to you ; and while Colonel Murray and Diwanji march from their quarter straight against the enemy, you must from your side look him in the face with a determined countenance. By taking up your position in the pargana above-mentioned Kanhoji will be inspired with terror and will not dare to disturb us. His numbers are diminished, and his courage gone ; but still, that his presumptuous hopes may not revive, it is necessary for you to advance from Vijapur to the borders of Idar or Modasa. In a short time we shall be at leisure to destroy him, but in the meantime you will see the wisdom of adopting without delay the measure, which I have pointed out.

To your judgment, zeal and good sense the security of the country is confided, and I am confident that your exertion will be equal to the occasion. What can I say more ?

1803 *Baroda, 28th December, 1803 (1803, P. D. B. M. 63A)*

Alexander Walker to N. B. Lumsden.

Baroda troops The British army under Colonel Murray and another division of the Gaikwad forces with the Diwan's brother, Sakharam Chimnaji, are at Dohad on the western boundary of Malwa. These forces are in a state of complete readiness to advance on Sindia's capital, whenever this measure may appear expedient to the Hon'ble Major-General Wellesley.

1803 *Bombay, 31st December, 1803 (1803/04, F. P. 13)*

Bombay to the Company.

Meanwhile Colonel Murray, having intimated his hope that Kakaji, *Baroda troops* a native commander in the service of the Gaikwad in command of a body of horse on the north-east frontier of Gujarat, might be able to

keep the field against Kanhoji (a member of the Gaikwad family already frequently noticed to your Committee as in rebellion against the Government at Baroda), the Resident at Baroda was in consequence instructed on the 23rd instant to use every exertion to effect this object, in the view of thereby admitting of Colonel Murray's pursuing uninterruptedly the objects of the war in Malwa under the instructions of the Hon'ble General Wellesley.

7. It has, however, since appeared that Kakaji's force has been much diminished by the transfers made from it to that of the Diwanji, who is appointed to serve with Colonel Murray, as noticed in our address to the Hon'ble Court of the 12th instant; whilst the known pecuniary embarrassments of the Gaikwad State are such as to disable it from raising effectual new levies so as to place Kakaji on a more respectable footing with respect to force. Under these circumstances Major Walker has in the spirit of the latest instructions from the Supreme Government been authorised to concert with the ministry at Baroda such means for reinforcing the field-detachment of the Gaikwad force under Kakaji as may adapt it, in concurrence with the sentiments of Colonel Murray, to the primary objects of defence adverted to in that officer's communication to General Nicolls of the 11th instant; advancing, for this purpose such sums as may be necessary from the treasury under his charge, which may be either ultimately debited to the Gaikwad Government, or allowed in its favour in consideration to the subsidiary British force being at present otherwise engaged, according as His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General-in-Council may be pleased to decide.

Camp at Surji Arjungaon, 30th December, 1803 (1804, S. & P. D. 154) 1803
Major-General Wellesley to Colonel Murray.

There does not appear to me to be any necessity to inform the *Peace* Raja Anand Rao of the purport of the 5th article, till further orders will *terms* have been received from His Excellency the Governor-General.

Fifth article of the treaty of Surji Arjungaon with Daulatrao Sindia.

The Maharaja Alijah Daulatrao Sindia, for himself and his heirs and successors, hereby renounces all claims to the forts, territories, rights and interests, ceded by the 2nd, 3rd and 4th articles, and all claims of every description upon the British Government and their allies, the subahdar of the Deccan, the Peshwa and Anand Rao Gaikwad.

Baroda, 3rd January, 1804 (1804 P. D. B. M. 63A) 1804
Alexander Walker to James Grant.

I have the honour to acknowledge your communication of the *Kakaji* 2nd instant; and previous to the receipt of it I had addressed the enclosed letter to Kakaji, urging him to maintain the position, which Colonel Murray had pointed out in the parganas of Idar and Modasa. The Diwan had, some days before the date of my letter, written to Kakaji to the same effect and has repeated orders since.

Bombay, 13th January, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 154) 1804
At a Consultation.

Resuming consideration of Colonel Murray's letter of the 21st *Kakaji* ultimo respecting the Gaikwad cavalry, as recorded in these proceedings *excused*

under date the 3rd instant, copies of it were on the 12th instant ordered to be sent to Bengal, and to the Hon'ble General Wellesley, and also to the Resident at Baroda with the following remark annexed: "On the above letter from Colonel Murray the Board remark that, independent of that officer's admission of the expediency of Kakaji's proceeding on the occasion in question towards the quarter of Idar, as adverted to in the letter from the Resident at Baroda of the 14th of December, the Colonel could not (judging from the period of a fortnight required for his march from Lunawada to Dohad) have reached Ujjain or even Dohad, before the dates of the armistice, which took place on the 22nd of that month.

1804 *Bombay, 20th January, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M. 63A)*

Jonathan Duncan to Alexander Walker.

Approval We approve of the tenor of your correspondence with Kakaji, as referred to in the latter part of these letters; and that the Gaikwad native contingent, serving with Colonel Murray at Dohad, will be no longer required for that general duty. The Administration at Baroda may of course detach such part thereof, as may be deemed requisite, to join and strengthen Kakaji, and thence to enable him perhaps to provide at once for the defence of that part of the country against the threatened inroads by Kanhoji and to carry on the duty of collecting the Mahi Kantha mulukgiri.

British troops With respect to detaching one of the British subsidised corps on the service, and these afterwards taking up a permanent position in the Company's pargana of Vijapur, although, under all the circumstances of the case and particularly the necessity of providing a sufficient defence against Kanhoji's eventual aggressions on the frontier of Gujarat, we are inclined to concur in your recommendations, we shall however defer our ultimate sentiment on these suggestions in your letter of the 22nd ultimo, till we can be favoured with the remarks of the Hon'ble Major-General Wellesley. Meanwhile, we have to desire that you will take such preparatory measures as you may deem requisite to ascertain whether there be any public or other buildings in the pargana of Vijapur, applicable to affording cover, as well before as during the monsoon, to any British detachment, which may eventually be posted there, since, if such accommodations be not now there procurable, you must keep in view the means of having it seasonably provided, as the health and comfort of the troops are primary objects to be at all times consulted in the operations in Gujarat.

1804 *Baroda, 22nd January, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M. 63A)*

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

Assisting Kakaji I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th ultimo. The Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council is already in possession of my letter to Kakaji, and I now enclose his answer. In this letter Kakaji, I believe, has given a very just view of his situation, but I felt some embarrassment in the choice of what measures were most proper to be taken. The forces that remain with Kakaji are neither able, as he states, effectually to oppose Kanhoji nor to prosecute the mulukgiri of Mahi Kantha.

But, although it appeared necessary to increase his forces, it was doubtful whether this could be done to any good purpose by such levies as were to be suddenly raised in the country; and there was therefore in having recourse to this expedient a considerable danger of incurring a great expense without procuring an adequate advantage. By the best accounts Kanhoji is not in a situation to invade Gujarat, and the Mahi Kantha mulukgiri would not suffer by a little delay.

In replying to Kakaji's letter I have avoided for these reasons to sanction immediately an increase to his sibandi, and before I can receive his answer to the question, which I have referred for his opinion, we may probably be at peace with Daulatrao Sindia. In this case the Gaikwad forces, that are at present with Colonel Murray, may join Kakaji, which, with a battalion in that quarter, would effectually secure the whole frontier from invasion and preserve the interior tranquillity of the most troublesome part of Gujarat.

On the event happening, which I refer to, I cannot avoid strongly urging the expediency of detaching a corps on this service, and of pointing out the advantage of establishing it afterwards at Vijapur. This would in some measure compensate the Gaikwad Government for the temporary alienation of the contingent and provide at the same time for the quiet of the Company's possessions. Those [places] in that direction have not yet been visited by our troops, and the inhabitants are but little acquainted with the regular habits of life.

Vijapur is also a good position for a corps, as it borders on Idar and Modasa, and is at a convenient distance for relieving or supporting the garrison of Kadi.

A post therefore in that situation would secure the peace of our own districts, maintain our influence in a remote part of Gujarat, and protect the Gaikwad dominions, where they are much exposed.

No. 1. Letter from Kakaji to Alexander Walker, dated at the village of Lodra on the 27th Ramzan.

I have received your letter and derived much pleasure from the perusal of it. But to increase the sibandi to keep in awe the enemy would be incurring a large expense. You should send a battalion therefore to avoid expense and ensure the object of preventing the ingress of enemies. With such aid, joined to the sibandi that are now with me, I should keep the enemy in awe and make mulukgiri at the same time. You wrote to keep Khushaba's party a few days. I took one month's benefit of the services of Khushaba, but from the extent of assignments in Kadi and Kathiawar, which was not expected when so large a sibandi establishment at Kadi was entertained, and which has been employed wherever required these twelve months past, it became necessary to disband a number of them in order to avert the accumulation of arrears, or touching that fund from whence these assignments are to be answered. As it is, they are in arrears, nor does any fund appear to discharge the amount.

What you write is true. But the troops of Kadi or Ahmadabad are insufficient to maintain in order the affairs of all this country. How that is to be done, you yourself, Sir, ought to devise and provide for the general welfare, since we all depend on the Company for securing that

state of things. The pride or shame of what befalls these dominions will affect you, Sir.

If the mulukgiri is to go on, I pray that a battalion may be sent to join me, or a letter sanctioning the recruiting of sibandi, and an issue of Rs. 30,000 monthly for their pay. In either event the mulukgiri matters will be fulfilled. Be pleased to send an answer to this letter.

No. 2. *Letter from Alexander Walker to Kakaji, dated 9th January, 1804.*

Delay advised I have received your letter of the 27th of Ramzan. I perceive with pleasure that you have formed a correct judgment of your situation, and such as I have often observed in your conduct. The great object is to maintain tranquillity within Gujarat until peace is concluded with Daulatrao Sindia; and, in consequence of the great victories of the Company's armies, that event is not far distant.

I am sensible that your force has been by various means diminished, and that it may be necessary to increase it. We shall know in a few days whether we are to have peace or war with Sindia; and on the first event happening, which I think most probable, there will be no occasion to raise a new sibandi. In the meantime I request you would inform me whether with the sibandi at the monthly additional expense of 30,000 Rupees you think that you could keep the field against Kanhoji and at the same time prosecute the Mahi Kantha mulukgiri.

I shall consider this subject with our respectable friend, Sitaram Raoji, and desire him likewise to write you concerning it.

1804 *Baroda, 24th June, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M. 63B)*

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

Pay of troops I have the honour to enclose a particular statement of the expense that attended the payment of the Gaikwad forces appointed to serve with the British army in the late Maratha war.

These forces were between three and four months in the field. They consisted of about 2,000 horse and 1,200 foot with three pieces of artillery. The amount stated in the account is much less than the actual expense of such a body of troops and of the sardars of rank who commanded them. It consists chiefly of what was extraordinarily incurred on account of the service, on which the Gaikwad Government would not have been pressed for the payment of without this occurrence.

The Gaikwad Government does not expect to be charged with these disbursements, but rather looks confidently to the liberality and generosity of the English Nation that they will be defrayed by the Company. I was, at the time of bringing the Gaikwad forces into the field, under the necessity of not checking these expectations; and the Raja, who entertained some hope that he would obtain an accession of territory on the successful termination of the war, will, I have reasons to think, be satisfied if this account is decided in his favour.

The Hon'ble Company in account with Anandrao Gaikwad, being the expenses incurred to pay a body of his forces appointed to serve with the British army during the last Maratha War.

Total amount paid Rs. 2,52,473-1-32.

No. 6. WAR WITH HOLKAR

THE documents are grouped under two sections :

Section A: Colonel Murray's ordeal.

Section B: The Baroda contingent.

Section A: COLONEL MURRAY'S ORDEAL

Among many others, recorded in the Diaries, a comparatively small number of documents have been selected for publication here, with a view to illustrate the various circumstances which contributed to Murray's failure to achieve success.

DOCUMENTS

Bombay, 7th May, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 157)

1804

Major-General Wellesley to Colonel Murray.

I have the honour to inform you that I have received intimation *War with* from His Excellency the Governor-General that he has given orders to *Holkar* the Commander-in-Chief to attack Jaswantrao Holkar.

There is no occasion for delaying your operations till the arrival of this battalion [of reinforcements], they may be commenced immediately.

You will take with you as large a number of the Gaikwad cavalry as can be furnished to you.

Bombay, 14th May, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 157)

1804

Jonathan Duncan to Major-General Wellesley.

In fitting out those Gaikwad auxiliaries and in maintaining them *Baroda* during the service I am aware that it will be necessary that the principal *troops* if not the whole, expense should be incurred by the Company, and the Resident at Baroda has been accordingly authorised to make such advances of cash as may be necessary for these purposes.

P.S.—On this occasion it occurs to me to add that, as the Gaikwad *Expenses* Government are not to have any share in the acquisitions of the late war, they will, I understand, expect not to be burthened with the charge of the outfit and pay of their cavalry that accompanied Colonel Murray as far as Dohad, a point on which I will be glad to be favoured with your opinion.

Bombay, 15th May, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 157)

1804

Major-General Wellesley to Jonathan Duncan.

In answer to your letter of the 14th instant I have to mention *Expenses* that I think it will be desirable to refer to His Excellency the Governor-General the question regarding the payment of the expenses incurred in the late war in the equipment and subsistence of the troops in the service of the Gaikwad State.

1804 *Fort William, 15th May, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 158)*

The Marquis of Wellesley's notes, received in Bombay on the 15th June, 1804.

In cantonments Holkar's force having been compelled to retire from the north-western frontier of Hindustan, and no prospect appearing of danger to our possessions in that quarter during the approaching season, no reason appears to require the continuance of the Commander-in-Chief's army in the field for the mere purpose of security to our territories.

The Government of Bombay will be directed to recall all its troops serving without the limits of its authority... The army in Gujarat with the addition of the subsidiary force for Sindia will probably be sufficient to check Sindia and Holkar, either separately or combined.

1804 *Camp, 17th June, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 158)*

Colonel Murray to Josiah Webbe, Resident with Sindia.

Murray's plan I have this morning received a letter from Colonel Monson of the 5th. He was then at Kotah, and proposed advancing the next day to the Mukandwara pass. Allow me, Sir, to repeat that I will not delay one moment to advance, when I can do it with safety; but, till I can carry with me grain and rice sufficient for a fortnight at least, and till I am joined by the division which will be in camp to-morrow, it would have been highly injudicious to have risked by swelling of the rivers being cut off from that detachment, and my magazines. On the 19th, or 20th at furthest, I shall advance; and unless unforeseen accidents occur, or that I shall from the movements of the enemy judge it expedient to change my route, I shall be in the neighbourhood of Ujjain on the 29th or 30th at furthest.

1804 *Camp at Sheogarh, 26th June, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 158)*

Colonel Murray to Josiah Webbes.

Murray's troubles I have the pleasure to acquaint you of my arrival at this place, from whence I propose proceeding without delay. I have repeatedly written to Ujjain to learn the state of the army at that place, but I can get no answer. I have likewise pressed their sending me a small body of cavalry of two or three thousand men, which will greatly facilitate my junction; and indeed, without it, my baggage will be extremely exposed. No officer on the part of Daulatrao Sindia has yet joined me. I have had no late accounts from Colonel Monson. From Bombay I am informed that General Lake's army is in cantonments; and in that case I presume Colonel Monson will not advance. This will leave me exposed to Holkar's whole force, which, destitute as I am of cavalry, may possibly be more than I can resist. With 3,000 men from Ujjain, I should feel confident of opposing anybody of the enemy, detached against me. I know nothing of the Gaikwad troops.

1804 *Badnawar, 1st July, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 158)*

Colonel Murray to Major-General Wellesley.

Retreat explained I had the honour of reporting to you my arrival at Sheogarh on the 25th ultimo; I marched on the 28th to Petlawad; on the 29th, passing the Mahi, I reached Rajod. At this encampment I learnt from my kasids, who arrived from Holkar's camp, that his designs were

generally believed to be against this corps, and from other quarters that he had been prevented from marching only by heavy rains. It was likewise ascertained that he was still at Mandasor on the evening of the 26th. Fully aware of the importance of reaching Ujjain, and calculating that by rapid marches I might be well advanced before intelligence of my movement could reach Holkar's camp, I marched on the 30th to Badnawar, and intended in two more marches to get so near Ujjain, that the troops of Daulatrao Sindia might join me without risk; and this, no doubt, could have been effected. Soon after my arrival at Badnawar [*I received*] two letters from Colonel Monson, that you may be enabled to judge of the reasons which have induced me to retire behind the Mahi. From these letters I learnt that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief had found it necessary to canton the troops, and that he proposed giving them some months relaxation; and by the letter of the 20th it appears that Colonel Monson had given up the idea of marching to Hinglasgarh, and to wait further orders from General Lake. I conclude so small a force as Colonel Monson's will not be advanced, particularly after the extraordinary departure of the Jaipur troops, whilst His Excellency is stationary. Thus, Sir, I found myself with a very weak corps exposed to the whole continued force of Holkar's army, which since his junction with Hirnathsing, allowing for the exaggeration of the natives, amounts fully to 40,000 men. The force I could bring into action would not amount to 2,800 infantry, for I may safely say that I have no cavalry.

At Ujjain from the account of an agent, sent to me from thence, there were only about 2,500, of which the greater part were the residue of Bapu Sindia's troops; which, it is acknowledged, were not paid and suffered extremely from the scarcity of provisions. Thus, Sir, believing the Bengal's army in motion, I was led into the situation you had cautioned me to avoid.

It was not without the most mature deliberation that I decided upon recrossing the Mahi; but I foresaw nothing but the total loss of this division if I should proceed; and it appeared to me further that the protection of Ujjain would not be ensured even at this expense, as I had no magazines; nor was it probable with so decided a superiority that the enemy would permit me to form them. It is no less clear that my communications with Gujarat would be entirely cut off; to which quarter I had alone to look for treasure, ammunition and regular supplies. When I determined on advancing, I foresaw that this event would take place, and in consequence ordered my escorts to halt; but I thought by the advance of General Lake's army that it would again be speedily reestablished. I now find that for months it would not be looked for.

Holkar's position at Mandasor threatens Gujarat no less than Ujjain, and he is at liberty to divide his army as he shall think proper. It appears to me not at all improbable, if he could confine me to Ujjain, that he would detach a division of it to that country, which is now quite unprotected. This, Sir, I conceive would be a more fatal event than the capture of Ujjain, and against which it is my primary duty to guard. My present intention is to retire to-morrow morning behind the Mahi, where I shall take up a position to cover the passes of the river.

I should hope, as the country on the opposite bank of the Mahi is favourable for infantry (whilst this part of Malwa, which I should have now to act in, is a perfect plain), that this may be effected ; and I have little doubt of supporting myself there, if I can find the means of subsistence. There is the greater probability of this being the case that my communications with Dohad will be covered. I very clearly foresee that, politically considered, this retrograde movement may be attended with bad effects, but in a military point of view I think it will not be blamed, and that it will be allowed I had no other line of conduct to adopt without exposing my division to destruction and the province of Gujarat to invasion and plunder. With respect to supplies of grain, I beg leave to observe that I am now from various circumstances very deficient. On my march from Kapadvanj to Dohad I expended a great deal, and it was only at Lunawada that I procured a sufficiency for our daily supply. My carriage too is extremely diminished by the death of the bullocks and the death and desertion of those of the Brinjarris ; of these last I have lost, of one convoy alone, above 1,500, and great numbers of those in the rear. In the Jhabua district, where large supplies were collected, I was obliged to leave almost the whole for the want of means to convey it, having been disappointed of 1,000 bullocks which the Raja had promised to furnish. These however are now ready, as he writes me, and I shall send for them after I shall have crossed the Mahi.

I trust, Sir, that this statement will justify me in your opinion. I assure you that I have used every exertion to bring forward this corps under many unfavourable circumstances, and I have not the least doubt that I should have reached the point to which you directed my attention, if I could have hoped to maintain myself in it.

The Gaikwad troops, having lost the opportunity of crossing the Mahi, have been obliged to march three days down the river to a place where boats are to be procured : had they entered with energy into the war, and their troops been with me, I might possibly have been enabled to support myself on this bank of the Mahi and covered a very considerable and fertile part of Malwa.

1804 *Camp, 11 miles west of Badnawar, 5th July, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 158)*
Colonel Murray to General Nicolls.

Advance I have much pleasure in acquainting you that, having heard last night Holkar had detached a very large body of his troops towards Hinglsgarh, I decided on advancing and have accordingly recrossed the Mahi. To-morrow I shall march to Badnawar and the day following to Nolay. I hope to remedy any inconveniences which may have occurred by my retrograde movement.

I have written to General Wellesley by the way of Burhanpur, which I believe the most expeditious. But I shall be obliged to you to communicate this intelligence to him.

1804 *Ujjain, 19th July, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 159)*
Colonel Murray to Jonathan Duncan.

Murray's plight My actual effective force consists, as I have before had the honour of acquainting you, of 3,486 rank and file fit for duty, and there are

about eleven hundred at drill. With this corps I have to protect Malwa and Gujarat, and there is not a British army within reach of communication. I am promised troops by the Government of the Maharaja, but the army of that Prince is so disorganised, so scattered, and so ill-paid, and without equipment that I see no hopes of an efficient force being collected within any reasonable space of time. Although I have now been at Ujjain 13 days, five hundred men alone, as I have had the honour of stating, are all the authorities here have been enabled to collect.

The retreat of Colonel Monson's corps towards Kotah, not altogether I fear without loss, renders my situation still more precarious. Bapu Sindia, who was destined to act with me, has retired with him.

The enemy's principal force, amounting to forty thousand men at a moderate calculation, is concentrated near Rampur in the Kotah district, whilst another body of 12,000 men under Mir Khan are now besieging Belsa.

Such, Hon'ble Sir, is my situation, and I shall endeavour to act for the best. I know in a military point of view that I ought to draw nearer Gujarat, but independent of the effect this might have on the alliance with Daulatrao Sindia, there is no position I could take up on this side of the Mahi, on which I could so well receive the enemy, should he be disposed to risk a general action. It is not however my intention to confine myself to defensive measures, provided I can collect such a force as will at all afford the prospect of acting offensively, and for this desirable purpose I shall continue to use every exertion in my power.

Bombay, 25th July, 1804 (1803/04, P. D. Let. to C. of Dir. 4)
Bombay to the Company.

1804

On the 17th instant, Major-General Nicolls received a dispatch from Colonel Murray, reporting in detail the circumstances that had induced him to consider it unadvisable to prosecute his march to Ujjain. Of that dispatch, inclusive of the letters from the Hon'ble Colonel Monson of the 17th and 21st of June, that are referred to in it, copies are enclosed; these latter showing that the army under the command of General Lake is in cantonments at Cawnpore, and that Colonel Monson did not intend to advance from his position near Kotah till the receipt of further orders from the Commander-in-Chief, in view to which and to the other motives assigned in the said dispatch with reference to the information received of Holkar's being with a large army at Mandasor, Colonel Murray determined on retiring behind the eastern branch of the river Mahi towards its source, between the towns of Rajod and Badnawar as exhibited in Rennell's map. *Murray's doings*

Under the information thus received, it became of the utmost importance to have recourse to every available means of reinforcing the army under the command of Colonel Murray; in view to which our President communicated to the Resident at Baroda on the 18th instant a plan, that had been submitted to him, for raising in Cutch and in Kathiawar a body of country cavalry to the number of about 5,000 horse, which it was expected might be prepared to join the British army by the month of October next. If therefore Colonel Murray should, when apprised of this plan, consider such a force as therein

described likely to prove useful, the communication which has been made to the Resident at Baroda, as per copy enclosed, authorises the adoption of measures for carrying the same into execution without delay

Observing however in Colonel Murray's statement of the troops under his command, in his letter of the 1st of July to the Hon'ble Major-General Wellesley, that he computed the number of men, which he could bring into action as not amounting to 2,800, a return was called for and prepared by your Adjutant-General from the latest information in his office, showing that on the 1st of June Colonel Murray had 5,807 men fit for duty; to reconcile which difference in these two returns, and to show how so great a diminution could have occurred in the space of one month, we requested of our colleague General Nicolls to refer for explanation to Colonel Murray.

Meanwhile General Nicolls has received advices from Colonel Murray, dated the 5th instant, whence it appears that on the ground of a report brought to him on the preceding night that Holkar had detached a very large body of his troops towards Hinglasgarh, the Colonel thereon decided on advancing, and accordingly recrossed the Mahi, and would be on the 6th at Badnawar, and on the 7th at Nolay; hoping thus to remedy any inconvenience that might have occurred by his retrograde movement.

1804 *Calcutta, 23rd August, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 160)*

The Marquis of Wellesley to Jonathan Duncan.

Vain fears The Governor-General-in-Council also received from Fort St. George a copy of the proceedings of that Government under date the 10th August, in consequence of the receipt of the letter addressed to Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of Fort St. George by the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of Bombay under date the 20th July.

It appears from these documents that, under the apprehensions of an irruption of Jaswantrao Holkar's force into the province of Gujarat and of the danger to which the possessions and interests of the British Government in that province as well as the city of Surat and its dependencies are in consequence exposed, the Governor-in-Council of Bombay proposed to raise a body of irregular horse consisting of 5,000 men, at the monthly charge of three lakhs of Rupees.

The Governor-General-in-Council also observes in your letter to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of Fort St. George, under date the 20th July, the urgent expression of a most extraordinary degree of alarm for the safety of the British possessions to the northward of Bombay and an earnest request for the speedy relief of the troops belonging to the Establishment of Bombay, stationed in Malabar, and Kanara, and at Goa, with an apparent view of applying those troops, when arrived, to the defence of Gujarat and of the city of Surat.

The Governor-General-in-Council deems it necessary on this occasion to signify his concern that such a degree of alarm should have been entertained by the Governor-in-Council-of-Bombay and communicated to Fort St. George, with insufficient previous knowledge of the force or actual position of Jaswantrao Holkar, or of the means possessed by that freebooter of attempting the invasion of Gujarat.

On the 20th of July, at the moment of your apprehensions respecting the danger of Surat and Gujarat from the supposed invasion of Holkar's forces, the main body of his troops was actually engaged with a detachment of Commander-in-Chief's army, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Monson in the vicinity of Kotah on the banks of the river Chambal. That detachment was then sufficient to repulse the whole of Holkar's forces ; it has since been considerably reinforced, and will speedily be prepared to act with efficiency against Holkar's main strength.

On the other hand, it is evident that Holkar could not have threatened Gujarat and all your possessions to the northward under a pressure so exigent as to require the service of every man whom you could employ, before the forces under Colonel Murray and the Gaikwad's contingent had been defeated by Holkar.

No reason exists to warrant any apprehension that Jaswantrao Holkar can collect a force equal to contend with Colonel Murray, aided by the Gaikwad troops and by those of Sindia ; nor is the Governor-General-in-Council apprised from what sources of information you have derived your estimate of the amount of Holkar's strength, which you appear to consider to be superior to the whole military power of the British Government and of all the allies.

Under all the circumstances of the case, the Governor-General-in-Council is satisfied that the apprehension entertained by the Government of Bombay for the safety of its northern dependencies is premature. The Governor-General-in-Council therefore is not aware of the necessity of incurring so heavy a charge for the maintenance of a body of irregular horse, in the manner proposed by the Governor-in-Council at Bombay, and desires that the proposed body of irregular horse be not entertained.

Bombay, 8th September, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 160)

1804

General Nicolls to Jonathan Duncan.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Secretary Grant's letter of the 4th instant, calling for my report upon the following points : *Queries*

On the extraordinary appearance of the native infantry in the field under Colonel Murray's command, being more than one-third of the whole in a state not to be of the smallest service, and the greater part indeed not sufficiently advanced to have received arms.

Whether the corps to which these raw recruits belonged were complete, when they were ordered respectively on actual service ?

If they were complete at that time, to notice the period within which such extensive desertion took place as to require their being thus largely replaced.

Whether such numbers abandoning the colours may be in conformity to the ordinary course of like occurrences under similar circumstances ?

To add my opinion as to the cause, with any means that occur for providing against so very alarming an evil.

Upon which I have the honour to remark :

That, although the exact situation of each native battalion may not have been reported to you, Hon'ble Sir, they generally have been,

Answers

and I am sorry to say that we must expect them to be in some measures as stated in the part of Colonel Murray's letter which is quoted.

The corps with Colonel Murray were complete in numbers (1st battalion 9th Regiment excepted), though not in drilled soldiers, when respectively ordered in service.

The desertions in the battalions to the northward have not been more numerous than was before common; they are not confined to the Gujarat nor to any particular corps.

The accompanying letter and the enclosure taken from the records in the Adjutant-General's office (according to your desire) give the comparison required in the 4th question.

The proportion of untrained men in the battalions to the northward was increased by my having directed the commanding officers to avail themselves of the present state of the country to obtain a choice of men and to continue to recruit, even when above the complement, to enable me to complete the whole establishment from their supernumeraries. This has since been countermanded.

The desertions from every native corps, even at the Presidency, are and have been very numerous. The 1st battalion of the 7th Regiment, the 2nd battalion of the 9th Regiment, and, I believe, the Fencibles' corps have lost many men monthly by desertion; and I have never been able to trace it to any general cause which it was in our power to remedy or alter. By making the Adjutant-General examine and pass the recruits a few deserters were discovered, and it was evident that they frequently left one corps to enter and receive a second bounty in another.

To prevent the corps from dwindling away far below the establishment, it is necessary to enlist men in whatever situation they may be. When therefore to the number of undisciplined men, which each battalion at all times has, we add that of the recruits enlisted to fill up the vacancies occasioned by desertion and other casualties, and with these causes of inefficiency we consider, Hon'ble Sir, the length of time necessary for drilling recruits, particularly in the field, we cannot be surprised at the actual state of the native infantry with Colonel Murray, which is thus easily and naturally accounted for.

In answer to the last part of Mr. Secretary Grant's letter, I am concerned to state that, however lamentable and alarming the evil may be, it is one to which the Military Service of this Presidency is subjected by local circumstances, and for which, I fear, an effectual remedy cannot now be applied.

What regulations can be supposed capable of binding men to our service, when we find that comfortable clothing, kind treatment, regular payment and good food are not sufficient inducements to them to remain attached to us, especially, as at present, when this side of India is labouring under the pressure of famine?

Letter from J. C. Harris, Deputy Adjutant-General, to General Nicolls.

In conformity with the following extract of a letter from the Secretary to Government, viz. "Specifying also from the records in the Adjutant-General's office whether such numbers abandoning their colours shall be in conformity to the ordinary course of like occurrences

among the native Military beyond such ordinary proportion," I beg leave to enclose, a return of the desertions in Colonel Murray's detachment for these last six months, contrasted with the number of desertions for the like period in Colonel Little's detachment, that served in the Maratha country in the year 99; by which it will appear that the desertions in the former does not exceed the ordinary proportion in corps acting under similar circumstances.

Colonel Little's detachment appears to be the latest that can be fairly compared in this respect with Colonel Murray's, and a period of six months has been taken to show the average of desertions in both.

The two native battalions that left this for Egypt, although they lost a number of men (212) out of 15th Regiment rank and file, being as 1 to 7 when embarking, they suffered nothing from desertion afterwards, in consequence of their serving in a country, the inhabitants of which were strangers to the generality of the sepoys in language, habits and religion, no just comparison can therefore be drawn as to the extent of desertion in that detachment and the number of deserters in Colonel Murray's. A similar objection exists against a comparison with the native troops serving in Malabar and Kanara

Delhi, 19th October, 1804 (Wellesley's Despatches)

1804

Lieutenant-General Lake to the Marquis of Wellesley.

It is most provoking that this fellow [*Jaswantrao Holkar*] should escape; but really so many untoward circumstances have happened that I am quite wretched. If Colonel Murray, or any one else who may be in command, would but come forward at all, this monster [*Holkar*] could not escape

Angry

Bombay, 25th October, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 161)

1804

Bombay orders.

In pursuance of authority from and the directions of His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General-in-Council, the Governor-in-Council is pleased to appoint Major-General Jones to the staff of this Presidency and to the command of the troops in Gujarat north and south of the Narbada and Tapti, his headquarters being generally to be established in time of peace at Surat.

Murray superseded

In consequence of General Jone's appointment, and of the corps allotted for the duties of Gujarat north and south of the Narbada and Tapti being now advanced into Malwa under the command of Colonel Murray, Major-General Jones is to proceed with all practicable dispatch to assume the command of the troops now serving in Malwa under the command of Colonel Murray, who will be pleased to deliver over his command accordingly on the arrival of the Major-General, furnishing the latter with the fullest information of the objects of the campaign and the copies of all the orders under which he has been acting in the course of the war.

Bombay, 25th October, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 161)

Jonathan Duncan to the Marquis of Wellesley.

Proceeding further, in execution of Your Excellency's commands, we have this day appointed Major-General Jones to the staff of this

Jones in command

Presidency and to the command of the troops in Gujarat, north and south of the Narbada and Tapti, his headquarters being generally to be established in time of peace at Surat.

In consequence of Major-General Jones' appointment and of the corps allotted for the duties of Gujarat being now advanced into Malwa, the Major-General has further been directed to proceed as desired by Your Excellency with all practicable dispatch to assume the command of the troops now serving in Malwa under the command of Colonel Murray, who has been desired to deliver over such command accordingly on the arrival of Major-General and to furnish the latter with copies of all the orders under which he has been acting in the cause the present campaign, so as to enable the Major-General to follow up in the most precise manner all the objects of Your Excellency from this detached force in Malwa ; besides which, General Jones will be furnished from this [*place*] with a copy of General Wellesley's instruct of the 27th May to Colonel Murray with such directions for his conduct conformably thereto as may appear advisable ; of all which a transcript will be submitted to Your Excellency.

1804 *Bombay, 28th October, 1804 (1803/04, P. D. Let. to C. of Dir. 4)*
Bombay to the Company.

Jones in command Under this arrangement we have been instructed by the Supreme Government to appoint Major-General Jones to the staff of this Presidency and to the command of the troops in Gujarat north and south of the river Narbada and Tapti. His Excellency the Governor-General-in-Council at the same time requiring that in pursuance of such appointment, and in consequence of the corps allotted for the duties to Gujarat being now advanced into Malwa under the command of Colonel Murray, Major-General Jones should proceed with all practical dispatch to assume the command of those corps.

1804 *Bombay, 9th November, 1804 (1803/04, P. D. Let. to C. of Dir. 4)*
Bombay to the Company.

Murray active By a despatch from Colonel Murray, under date the 19th of October it appears that, after re-equipping the division of the army under his command, which had suffered much from the violence of the monsoon, he had been able to quit his encampment at Ujjain and to commence active operations. Colonel Murray has not however been accompanied by any part of Sindia's troops nor by any officer on the part of his Government.

1804 *Bombay, 15th December, 1804 (1803/04, S. & P. D. Let. to C. of Dir. 4)*
Bombay to the Company.

Success After Colonel Murray had re-equipped the division of that army under his command at Ujjain, he advanced to the northward for the purpose of co-operating in the war against Jaswantrao Holkar, and having taken the route of Ratlam, passed, in his march to Mandasor (where he arrived on the 11th ultimo) through the parganas of Baroda and Gowrah [*Jaora* ?], of both of which he took possession ; occupying also on the 14th in the further prosecution of his march the fort of Naraingarh, whence Holkar's troops had on his approach retired to

Rampura, of which large rich and populous town Colonel Murray also obtained possession on the 19th in the manner explained in the enclosed copy of this report of that date to Lieutenant-General Nicolls; that acquisition completing the conquest of all Holkar's possessions west of the river Chambal.

Bombay, 17th December, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 162)

1804

Major-General Nicolls to Jonathan Duncan.

I have the honour to forward a copy of a letter from Colonel Murray, *In praise* dated 21st ultimo, acknowledging the receipt of the order for his being *of Murray* superseded by Major-General Jones in the command of the army north of the Narbada.

Although the scene of Colonel Murray's operations has been distant, and his own reports and details are the only means which I possess of judging of the propriety of his arrangements and movements, I feel it a duty incumbent upon me to state to you the impression, which his conduct has made upon my mind, and consequently the light in which I view his services as an officer.

Upon assuming the command in September 1803, he found the army in Gujarat as much unaccustomed to, as it was unprepared for, the part in the extended scale of co-operation which circumstances rendered it necessary, and it was accordingly destined to fill. For this duty he formed and equipped the corps placed under his orders with assiduity and dispatch.

The happy conclusion of the late war with Daulatrao Sindia put an end to his advance at a time when his army was so placed and so effective as to afford every reasonable reliance upon the advantages to be derived from a continuation of its exertions.

Upon the commencement of hostilities with Jaswantrao Holkar, the Colonel was directed to advance a second time, which from the effective state of his equipments and the experience of his former outfit he was enabled at once to do.

Since that period Colonel Murray has had to act during one of the severest monsoons ever experienced in that part of the country, in which the tents, cattle and a great quantity of provisions were destroyed, and his ammunition and other parts of his stores and equipments considerably damaged. Under complicated and unforeseen losses lately experienced, the difficult task of re-equipping his army became his care; and this, it is but just to remark, he performed in an impoverished country with a degree of expedition as creditable to him and the officers under his command, as it was unexpected, and will, I hope, prove advantageous to the public service. His exertions on that occasion were great and meritorious.

Although Colonel Murray has not had an opportunity of displaying his own abilities in action during the late or present contest (which he has ever much regretted), a doubt does not exist with me but that his conduct would have been creditable to him and to the good order and discipline of the army entrusted to his charge.

Of the efficiency and discipline of that army I still expect to derive more plain and satisfactory proofs than any which I can offer at present. They have enabled Colonel Murray to accomplish every object on which

his attention was directed, as far as I am informed, and will, I think, continue to Major-General Jones the means of performing with credit whatever part may be allotted to him in the course of the campaign.

Letter from Colonel Murray to Major-General Nicolls, dated Camp at Rampura, 21st November, 1804.

Protest In obedience to the orders of Government the command of this army shall be delivered over to Major-General Jones on his arrival; and all the information in my power, with copies of such orders as I am now acting under, shall likewise be given to that officer. I trust the General will think me well justified in expressing my surprise and regret at this sudden and unexpected supersession. After having had every difficulty to struggle with, and after having exerted the utmost of my abilities to overcome them, I looked with confidence to the enjoyment of the only reward I ever expected, that of sharing the fortunes of the gallant army which I have for some time commanded, and of witnessing the exertions which it is now ready and so well prepared to make in the prosecution of the war.

Without in the smallest degree calling in question the authority of Government to employ such officers as may be deemed most capable of the service to be performed, I may with justice expect that the causes of my removal from command or the parts of my conduct in the exercise of it which have excited the displeasure of Government, will be made known to me. I have the satisfaction of believing that every part of my conduct will bear the strictest scrutiny.

In the meantime, Sir, although this charge must most naturally embarrass me, I shall continue to the best of my judgment to pursue the operations, which I believe most consonant to the views of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

I hope General Nicolls will on my arrival at Bombay permit me to profit by the leave of absence, which I have some time ago been indulged with by General Lake, to return to Europe, when my services are no longer required.

There can be no doubt that that time in the opinion of Government is arrived.

1804 *Camp on the east bank of the Parbati, 27th December, 1804 (1805, S. & P. D. 164)*

Major-General Jones to General Lake.

I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that I arrived and assumed the command of the troops from Colonel Murray on the evening of the day before yesterday.

The strength of this corps consists at present of rank and file.

*Plight
of force*

			For duty	Sick	Drill
Native cavalry	..	..	53	9	6
European artillery	..	..	97	13	..
Native artillery	..	..	17	2	..
European infantry	..	..	651	164	..
Native infantry	..	..	2,616	278	676

With 14 six-pounders brass field-pieces,
 2 twelve-pounders brass field-pieces,
 4 five and half-howitzers, and
 2 iron twelve-pounders.

I am sorry to acquaint you that we have only 3 days' allowance of spirits for the Europeans, and on an average 10 days' provisions for the troops, with an exhausted treasury, and the corps and departments in arrears. We are also very deficient in medicines.

Camp 13 kos west of Shahabad, 28th December, 1804 (1805, S. & P. D. 164) 1804
Major-General Jones to Jonathan Duncan.

I have the honour to acquaint you that I reached the army as they *In command* were crossing the Par [*Parbat*] and assumed command of the troops on the 25th instant.

Section B: BARODA CONTINGENT

The documents give a complete account of the untoward incidents connected with the Baroda contingent, and of the persons who were involved in the consequent unpleasantness to which these incidents gave rise: Major Walker, Captain Williams, Colonel Murray, Mahipatrao Raghunath Kakaji and Sitaram Raoji.

DOCUMENTS

Baroda, 11th July, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M. 63B)
Alexander Walker to James Grant.

1804

I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 28th ultimo *Gaikwad* and enclosures. *cavalry*

I request you will be so good as to acquaint the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the Gaikwad troops did not cross the Mahi until the 29th ultimo. The operation occupied several days. It was delayed by a want of boats and the inexpertness of those appointed to manage them. I shall have the honour of reporting fully on this subject for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council. In the meantime there has been no exertion or expedient left untried to induce the Gaikwad cavalry to form a more early junction with the British Army.

Baroda, 13th July, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M. 63B)
Alexander Walker to James Grant.

1804

I have the pleasure to inform you for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the Gaikwad forces marched *Cavalry* yesterday from Godhra to join Colonel Murray. The Colonel had *start* appointed them to a rendezvous at Thandla and to meet his corps there, which, Captain Williams writes to me under the 11th, he expected to be accomplished in 4 or 5 days. The Gaikwad forces appointed for this service consist of 3,600 cavalry and 800 infantry.

1804 *Butia near Bariya, 16th July, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M: 63B)*
George Williams to Alexander Walker.

*Causes
of delay*

Having got on thus far, I trust that the obstacles, which have hitherto retarded our progress, are now overcome, and that no more will arise. My almost daily communication with you, since I have been attached to this force, leaves me nothing new to say respecting it; still, as a connected statement of what I consider the cause of the delay of this army may be necessary, I beg leave to lay before you the following report.

At my first meeting with Kakaji at Ahmadabad on the 23rd. of May, and stating to him, agreeable to my instructions, the necessity of joining our army under Colonel Murray with the least possible delay, he appeared willing to undertake the service, but said that an advance of a lakh and a half of Rupees was necessary. This advance on a reference to you was agreed to.

In the meantime, while this was on reference, I had a meeting with all the jamadars then at Ahmadabad, who to a man in the presence of Kakaji declared that they would not proceed on the present service, until their accounts were settled, and three years' arrears, which they said was due to them, liquidated. I endeavoured to combat their objection by pointing out to them the length of time it would take to settle so long an arrear and the inability of the Government to discharge it immediately, adding that they would now come on regular monthly pay, and that their agents would settle their arrears during their absence; assuring them also that you would render them every assistance in your power.

Kakaji on this occasion put a long list of articles into my hand and told me that, unless I would sign them, he could not undertake the service. As many of these articles contained, in my opinion, matter incompatible with the relative situation of the Company's and Gaikwad's forces, it would have been highly improper in me to have signed them. However I received them from him for the purpose of sending them to you, on condition that he would agree to march and join his troops, which had been sent on the 27th to a place named Kua Boura distant about eight kos from Ahmadabad. This was settled; and bills having arrived to enable me to pay him his advance, he received one lakh and fifty thousand Rupees on the 31st of May.

We accordingly marched out on the first of June. From this time I met with little else than a direct opposition to every measure I proposed to carry my orders into execution. The pretence set up by Kakaji was not receiving a satisfactory answer to the articles I had forwarded to Baroda. The jamadars, finding also that there was an actual necessity for their services, thought it a favourable occasion to recover their arrears, what otherwise they had little chance of recovering for a long time, if ever, and of making the most extravagant demands. The scarcity of forage and the high prices of grain at Dohad had also a powerful influence on the troops together with the approaching monsoon. These circumstances combined are, in my opinion, the cause of our meeting with so much difficulty in getting the troops forward.

Expenses.

I hope that I shall soon be able to send you an account how the several sums, Kakaji and the Diwanji have received, have been disposed of.

The sums already received are as follows :

At Ahmadabad to Kakaji	Rs. 1,50,000
At Baroda to the Diwanji	50,000
At Mezepur to Kakaji and Diwanji by bills ..	1,42,857—1—50
Total :	Rs. 3,42,857—1—50

Returns of force.

Our present force consists of :

Infantry armed with muskets or match-locks ..	800
Cavalry old levy	2,000
Cavalry new levy	1,000
Total	3,800

Two brass four-pounders with equipments, and eighteen camels laden with rockets.

Bombay, 19th July, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 158)

1804

Jonathan Duncan to the Marquis of Wellesley.

By a private letter received this evening from the Resident at Baroda under date the 10th instant he advises me that the Gaikwad cavalry to the number of about 2,500 has at length positively agreed to continue their march and to join Colonel Murray, a concession on their part that had cost a further advance of about 1,20,000 Rupees, in a month's pay in advance and other particulars with which I am not at present fully acquainted.

Ujjain, 19th July, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 154)

1804

Colonel Murray to Jonathan Duncan.

You are, Hon'ble Sir, acquainted with the very extraordinary delays which have already occurred with the Gaikwad troops. I have reason to believe they are now at Dohad ; but whether they will advance farther or remain there, is a point I am unable at present to decide.

Baroda, 20th July, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M. 63B)

1804

Alexander Walker to Jonathan Duncan.

I have now the honour to report my proceedings in order to engage a body of the Gaikwad forces to join the British army and to prosecute hostilities against Holkar.

*Account of
Gaikwad
contingent*

On the first intimation of the war, I made a communication of the circumstance to this Darbar and invited co-operation. To this communication the Diwan replied that he was sensible of the necessity and propriety of uniting the forces of his State with those of the Hon'ble Company, and professed his readiness to adopt this measure to the largest extent in his power ; but observed, from the large arrears due to the Gaikwad army and its insubordinate character, he was very

doubtful whether the sardars would obey the orders of the sarkar until they received some pecuniary compensation. I was sensible of the truth of this representation, and under your instructions, Hon'ble Sir, of the 14th May assured Sitaram that money should be provided for their equipment and pay, after they took the field.

With this assurance Sitaram was satisfied, and entered with much goodwill into arrangements for collecting a considerable body of troops. As Kakaji had just finished the collection of the mulukgiri of Mahi Kantha, and was at the head of the only considerable body of Gaikwad troops, which were even ostensibly at the disposal of the Government, it was agreed that he should be appointed to the service. This resolution was immediately communicated to Kakaji and to the jamadars of his corps, and they were urged to lose no time in joining the forces under Colonel Murray. The Raja entirely concurred in these measures.

As about this time also Babaji's expedition into Kathiawar was drawing to a conclusion, I requested that he would order 200 horse or such a number as he could spare to reinforce the troops under Kakaji. Babaji answered that he was ready himself to proceed with all his forces, but that they would neither move themselves nor suffer him to stir without an advance of 10 or 12 lakhs of Rupees and a monthly payment, which would not be less than four lakhs.

On receiving this answer, I confined my exertions to equip Kakaji and to excite his forces to join the English army. I availed myself of Colonel Murray's visit at this time to Baroda to consult with him on the subject of this co-operation, and it appeared also to him that under the present circumstances there was nothing better to be done than to press Kakaji to take the field. The Diwanji would have been preferable as a commander, but there existed objections to this measure, which could not be removed. To hasten Kakaji to superintend his operations and the payment of his forces, Captain Williams was attached to the Gaikwad troops.

According to this plan Captain Williams proceeded on the 21st of May to Ahmadabad, at which city Kakaji had arrived, and was provided with half a lakh of Rupees, which, it was hoped, would be sufficient to meet the pecuniary demands of the jamadars, under the head of equipment money. When Captain Williams arrived at Ahmadabad, he found no preparations whatever made for moving, and the troops rather thought of retiring to their homes for the rains, as had been customary at the end of a mulukgiri expedition. After some conferences between Kakaji and Captain Williams, and the orders to the former had been several times repeated from Baroda, he assembled his forces at a little distance from the city and joined them.

Being desirous of anticipating and removing, if possible, the objections, which, I was aware, they would make to the service, I requested Sitaram to give me in writing a statement of their force and of the pay they would require monthly. This schedule was accordingly transmitted to Kakaji, but it soon appeared that it was neither satisfactory to him nor to the jamadars. These parties continued to tease Captain Williams in the most importunate manner for money and to make demands at once insolent and absurd.

At last the jamadars and Kakaji transmitted to me an instrument, which they stated to contain their demands. As they had not forwarded these through the Diwan, I sent them to Sitaram for his opinion. Although Sitaram disapproved generally of these requests, he was of opinion that they ought partly to be complied with, and recommended that they should be paid for their equipment altogether one lakh and a half.

It was pleaded in favour of this measure that the troops were several years in arrears, that they were going on a distant expedition in the season of the rains into a country where the necessities of life were excessively dear, and that it was necessary to equip themselves for the field as well as to leave some money for the support of their families who remained behind. At the same time to satisfy the jamadars in respect to their future support and on some other points about which they were solicitous, I sent to Captain Williams an official instrument containing the necessary assurances as far as I was authorised to give them. Sitaram conceived, and I was led to adopt the same opinion, that these measures would remove every objection to the service.

My hopes of success were further raised by a separate agreement which I concluded with Amin Saheb's vakils at Baroda. That jamadar had hitherto appeared the most unreasonable and refractory. He now requested by his agents that two villages, which had been attached by the sarkar, might be restored to him, that he should receive an advance of 20,000 Rupees, and on these conditions they solemnly pledged themselves that their principal should take the field on the same terms as had been granted to him when he accompanied the Diwanji. The first condition depended on Sitaram, who immediately, on my notifying the circumstance to him, caused the attachment to be removed from the villages, and I directed the rest of the agreement to be fulfilled. A relation of Amin Saheb and his vakils repaired to camp with this agreement; but the jamadar positively refused to abide by it. During this interval however the troops had moved as far as Kapadvanj.

These unpromising appearances were the more vexatious, as Colonel Murray was by this time advancing into Malwa; and from the season of the year the rising of the Mahi was to be apprehended, which would effectually cut off their communication with the British army. These circumstances were repeatedly urged, but in vain, to Kakaji and the jamadars. At this critical period the former with the greatest apathy and indifference went back to Ahmadabad in order to take his departure from that city on a fortunate day, as he had before left it on an unlucky one.

These proceedings appeared to give Sitaram much uneasiness, and the Raja expressed great dissatisfaction at them, urging his troops to unite with the English army without reserve. This last step of Kakaji irritated Sitaram, and he now agreed to dispatch his brother, the Diwanji, to the army. He presented to me a paper of instructions for the Diwanji, which I signed at his request with a few alterations that are noticed in the margin, and the latter left Baroda on the 17th ultimo. I also sanctioned a further advance to the troops of Rupees 50,000, and induced the parekhs to agree to pay them under the head of rozi and hafta about 1,40,000 Rupees.

New commander

The resolution of sending the Diwanji alarmed Kakaji, and he made haste to rejoin his army. The measure had also some effect on the troops, as they agreed to cross the Mahi and to march to Godhra. The apprehensions entertained of the rise of that river had in the meantime been fulfilled; and when they came to the banks, they found it unfordable.

Some days were lost in proceeding lower down the river and in collecting boats. On the 29th of June the whole crossed the Mahi, and the Diwanji joined them at Savli.

As the jamadars avowed their intention of halting at Godhra and going no further unless they were gratified in all their demands, I judged it advisable to send Sir Miguel De Souza, to assist Captain Williams in the arduous task which he had on hand. They were not satisfied with the payment of their rozi and hafta, but insisted on the entire discharge of their arrears. This amounted on a moderate computation to 9,00,000 of Rupees and, could it have been complied with, would have produced the same demand from the rest of the Gaikwad army.

About this time Kakaji left the troops in charge of the Diwanji and came himself to Baroda on the pretence of paying a visit to his relations. I would willingly have detained him here, but that was impracticable. Nor was this visit of Kakaji attended with any advantage, as he was not empowered to come to a settlement for the jamadars and seemed not to be exactly informed of their real views. Kakaji returned to camp on the 6th instant.

On the 7th instant I was informed by Captain Williams that the troops had reached Vejalpur, a short distance from Godhra, but refused to move farther until their old and new demands were complied with. They transmitted to me a statement of those demands, as before, without sending it through the Diwan. Having entire confidence in the discretion of Captain Williams, I instructed him to make any advances of money that were necessary, and to march with such of the forces as were willing to join Colonel Murray, and to leave the refractory behind. Sitaram instructed his brother to the same effect. I advised Colonel Murray of this state of affairs, and requested that he would himself decide whether he would accept the services of the Gaikwad troops on the terms they offered; in which case I should be prepared to answer the demands of cash that the service might require.

I proposed that Captain Williams should act on this instruction until he could receive Colonel Murray's orders. In the meantime I was informed by the Colonel that he was disappointed in the assistance he expected of cavalry from Sindia, and he requested that those of the Gaikwad might be pressed forward at almost any pecuniary sacrifice. On receiving this intelligence I recommended to Captain Williams, as in a case of emergency, to make the best terms in his power and, besides sending him a supply of cash, authorised him to draw on me to any extent which might be absolutely required to ensure the movement of these troops. They had hitherto been equally insensible to the voice of honour and duty. They had refused to obey, or received with a cold indifference the orders and admonitions of their own sarkar, and had been as little attentive to mine. It was not to be expected that they would be more complying, when perhaps they perceived that their

assistance had from unforeseen events acquired a greater degree of importance. It is unnecessary to enter into a detail of the tergiversations and cavils that preceded the settlement, but at last they agreed to march on being paid in advance on account of their first month's pay the sum of 1,42,857—1—50 Rupees.

On the 10th I was apprised of this settlement by Captain Williams, and that they would march on the 12th, but this did not take place until the 13th. I have reported this event therefore one day sooner than it happened. Colonel Murray appointed these forces to a rendezvous at Thandla, and Captain Williams expected to reach that place in four or five days.

These forces, as I have stated, consisted of 3,600 cavalry and 800 foot, with 2 or 3 pieces of artillery, furnished with rockets and the establishments usual to a native army. Of the cavalry 2,000 belonged to the kadim or standing forces, one thousand to the mulukgiri service, who only receive pay while they are employed, but whom I judged it prudent to retain on this occasion, and 600 of the same description followed in hopes of service; and which Colonel Murray will entertain or not as he judges necessary. *Kakaji in command*

It would have been on every account desirable that the Diwanji had gone in command of these troops. It was with this view and to hasten their departure that Sitaram sent his brother; but Kakaji's interest and the partiality for a relation defeated this resolution. When Kakaji expressed his determination, whatever might be the consequences, to proceed, Sitaram could not be prevailed on to disgrace his relation, and neither could he have succeeded without exciting a dangerous degree of discontent. Kakaji bears the reputation of being a man of judgment and is esteemed a good officer by the Marathas. We may hope from this that he will improve, and be more obedient in the field, and regulate his conduct according to the instructions which he has frequently received from his relatives and friends in the Administration at Baroda. Kakaji and the Gaikwad troops are placed by the Government under the sole command of Colonel Murray.

The expense of these troops will not be precisely ascertained until they have joined Colonel Murray; but the charge will be about two lakhs of Rupees a month, and so much may be added to the military estimate for Gujarat.

It has not been the fault of the Gaikwad Government that their troops have not formed a more early junction with the British army. The Raja and the Administration were equally desirous of this event. They did everything in their power to forward it by orders and admonitions, public and private. But all these measures and even the deputation of the Diwan's brother produced very little effect on the jamadars. They had only one object, to sell their services at the highest price and to obtain as many concessions as possible. They had invariably pursued this pernicious conduct on every occasion of public necessity and had been accustomed to extort from their Government the payment of arrears or some additional privileges. It was by availing themselves of the emergency that they secured their pay, and it was by this method or that of dharna that they forced the Government to do them justice. On the present occasion they have followed only

an established practice and sought to obtain their rights by the best expedients they were acquainted with.

I have made these observations to remove an idea that the jamadars have started difficulties from a disinclination to the Company's service ; which is far from being the case ; and I have reason on the contrary to think that no arguments of their own Government would have inclined them to engage on this distant expedition. In confirmation of this opinion it deserves to be mentioned that the sardars of rank of the Maratha nation and those who were most closely connected with the Administration, or who were the most interested in the support of the Gaikwad Government, made the fewest difficulties. The risalah of Kamal-ud-din Khan never made any, but were from the beginning ready to take the field without requiring any stipulation in their favour. It was owing to the moderate and good behaviour of his people, that the Sindhi jamadars receded from some of their demands. I have much satisfaction in making this favourable report of Kamal-ud-din's party, who has himself, as well as they, on every occasion that required their exertions, zealously embraced the Company's interests in Gujarat. The principal obstructions to the service arose from the Sindhis, who have combined a mercenary disposition with a military character. This character, which stands very high in Gujarat, and the personal influence of the jamadar Amin in particular gave his nation an ascendancy over the rest of the army.

In the course of these transactions the prudence and perseverance of Captain Williams were very conspicuously displayed. These qualities were frequently exercised in the tumultuous assemblies of the jamadars and in repelling or admitting claims uncertain in their nature, and which the parties themselves scarce knew how to limit. On these occasions the perplexity was great, as there was no determined or specific object, and there was always reason to expect that a compliance with one demand would produce another more unreasonable. The principal delay indeed arose from the sardars not coming forward with distinct and determinate propositions, keeping always something and frequently the most material affair in reserve. As the regulation of the Gaikwad troops and their future services will in a great measure depend on Captain Williams' exertions, I beg leave most respectfully to recommend an allowance to that officer adequate to his trouble and situation.

No. 1. Memorandum of the monthly allowances of the different pagas of horse and footmen, etc. under the command of Raghunath Mahipatrao Kakaji.

		Rs.	a.	p.
Pay Pagadars' allowance	.. .. .	5,600	0	0
Silahdars allowance :				
The following is the half monthly of the silahdars,				
which will be only now given	.. .. .	23,564	1	0
Sibandis' allowance :				
Receive now 21 days for the month	.. .. .	23,442	3	0
Sibandi footmen	.. .. .	1,730	3	0
Darakdars, kasids, camel-drivers, etc.	.. .. .	12,000	0	0
Total monthly expenses	.. .. .	Rs. 66,337	3	0

No. 2. Memorandum.

Memorandum respecting the troops of Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur accompanying those of the Company Bahadur. *Pay of troops*

1. A memorandum had been given in as to the wages of the old servants of Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur. It is required that they are paid every new moon. The sardar on the part of the Company Bahadur is to pay them.

2. The 2,000 horse and 1,000 foot to be entertained in addition are to be paid as follows :

To every horseman Rs. 50

The wages of jamadars, vakils and of the puckallis, every new moon they are to be paid.

The 1,000 foot each are to have 15 Rs. including jamadars. A muster roll of the new troops shall be duly made.

3. For immediate wants and future expenses 2 lakhs are required immediately.

4. On the troops reaching Balasinor one month's pay is to be given in the same manner as the Company's troops are paid.

5. In battle, if a horse is killed and the value estimated at 500 or 550, it shall be discharged.

6. If any man should be killed, or wounded, or lose his arms in action, the following rules are to be attended to :

If a horseman is killed, his relative is to receive Rs. 200.

If a footman is killed his relative is to receive Rs. 50.

If a horseman is wounded, he is to receive Rs. 100.

If a footman is wounded, he is to receive Rs. 25.

Should a man of rank be wounded and recover, he shall receive, a necklace, shela and turban.

Should a man of inferior rank be wounded, he shall receive in due proportion.

If arms are lost, the value to be defrayed. The price first fixed is to be paid.

7. If in action ammunition is wanted, let it be furnished without hesitation.

8. If grass is wanted and taken from any place, let no prevention take place ; but, when the rain falls, and it grows up, it shall be procured from the jungle ; but, if in the rains it should so prove that green grass is not to be had, it consequently then must be taken from the villages.

9. If quarrels or disputes should occur between the sepoy's of the English and Gaikwad forces, let their respective men be delivered up, and justice done to both parties by their respective commanding officers.

10. Grain of late has been dear ; should it still continue, a little more money monthly may be required.

11. In battle if assistance is required by the one party or the other, let it be given, and let the troops in that case be under one command.

12. If at any time there might be plunder, the two armies are to be allowed equally to help themselves.

13. The darakdars that go with the sardars, in receiving their

pay, it is not to be deducted from the sardars, but an extra allowance to be admitted for this purpose.

14. If in battle should a sardar by his courage distinguish himself, let honourable mention be made of him, and let inams be given to him for his services.

No. 3. Two extra memorandums.

1. Of the varat on Kantha 6 annas in the Rupee have been received, the balance remaining let it be discharged.

2. A settlement is required as to the 42 months' arrears to the troops.

No. 4. The monthly pay of the pagadars, silahdars, and sibandis.

					Rs.	a.	p.
<i>Pay</i>	Raja Pandhre	..	..	..	17,000	0	0
	Khan Saheb ..	..	..	..	12,000	0	0
	Amin Jamadar	..	..	..	17,000	0	0
	Randin Jamadar	..	..	..	2,450	0	0
	Yusuf Jamadar	..	....	..	2,600	0	0
	Taji Muhammad	..	..	..	1,700	0	0
	Jemda Sindhi..	..	..	..	1,700	0	0
	Jaffer Khan	..	..	..	850	0	0
	Jemar Mulluck	..	..	..	500	0	0
	Saïd Buckasha	..	..	..	1,700	0	0
	Nana Mehta ..	..	..	....	1,100	0	0
	Sultan Khan ..	..	..	..	2,450	0	0
	Huzurat paga	..	..	..	1,000	0	0
	Jetabhai's paga	..	..	..	3,000	0	0
	Haribhai's paga—						
	His silahdars	..	..	..	2,400		
	Paga ..	..	..	..	1,500		
						3,900	0 0
	Dada Jagtap and Baburao	..	..	..	3,000	0	0
	Sakharam Chimnaji ..	..	..	..	5,000	0	0
	Sibandis ..	..	..	..	15,000	0	0
	Topkhana and hattikhana and oontkhana, and						
	3 pagas' grain ..	..	..	..	13,000	0	0
	Bucha Dengaria Jamadar	..	..	..	5,000	0	0
	Kassim Hela Jamadar ..	..	..	....	5,000	0	0
	Milbubhai ..	..	..	..	1,700	0	0
	Minbabhai ..	..	..	..	2,200	0	0
	And other horse	..	..	..	7,000	0	0
					Total Rs. ..	1,24,950	0 0

Let a little more be given as with the Diwanji. Let the sardars have a little more wages for the people of their caste.

No. 5. Copy of an official instrument from Alexander Walker, containing sundry assurances as far as he was authorised to give them.

Promises 1. I have told you and now again promise that you shall receive your pay monthly in the English camp from Colonel Murray according

to the rate which Sitaram shall here determine, and not less than the troops with the Diwanji received.

2. You are to hire only one thousand horse, whose expense is to be defrayed by the Company at such a rate of wages as you can fix with Captain Williams. The foot are not required, excepting such a number as may be necessary for the guard of your camp.

3. You have received for your present and future expenses 1,50,000 Rupees.

4. The pay of your troops, according to the Company's custom, will be paid at the end of the month and not before. The advance which has been made you of 1,50,000 Rupees is an indulgence and favour contrary to the rules of the Company's service.

5. The prices of horses killed in action shall be paid for according to their value.

6. Those men, who may be wounded or killed, shall receive a gratuity according to the customs of the service.

7. Colonel Murray will issue such supplies of powder and shot as may appear to him necessary.

8. The Colonel will also on your junction make a reasonable arrangement for forage in such a manner as to remove all misunderstanding on this head.

No. 6. Letter from Anandrao Gaikwad Senakhaskhel Samsheer Bahadur to Kakaji, dated at Baroda, 9th June, 1804

Hafizji is dispatched to you, who will give you every information *Order to Kakaji* you may require, and who will desire you from us quickly to advance and join the army under Colonel Murray. If you promptly obey this order, your conduct will reflect much credit to our sarkar, and conquests will follow of course. On this subject Sitaram has written you in strong terms, and I command you to form a speedy settlement with your troops and to move forward. Another letter on the present subject I tell you not to expect, as this is the only one I shall address, and hope it will answer the purpose.

I have been heretofore faithfully and diligently served by you, and I make no hesitation of assuring myself of your exertions for the service at this crisis. Hafizji bears this to you, and I conclude in requesting you to form your junction immediately, as our sarkar and the Company are one. What more can I say?

No. 7. Memorandum from the Diwan Sitaram Raoji to Major Walker, without date, but delivered at Baroda, 15th June, 1804.

In consequence of the forces with Kakaji being unwilling to *Sitaram proposals* proceed on foreign service and requiring many unreasonable conditions, it has been resolved to dispatch Sakham Chimani Diwanji to settle everything. The following memorandums are presented to Major Walker to effect that settlement.

First Memorandum.

A letter was received yesterday, describing the conduct of the troops much to their discredit. It was agreed that the force under

Kakaji, appointed to proceed with those of the Hon'ble Company, should receive some money for their expenses ; but notwithstanding this, they are discontented and refuse to proceed with the Company's sardars and require the settlement of their old accounts.

Second Memorandum.

If any sardar declines to render his services on this occasion, let him be discharged, and his accounts settled. Should it happen that he repents, and requires to reenter the service, let it be determined that neither the Company Bahadur nor the Gaikwad sarkar shall receive him or possess the power of reinstating him. The sardars will then respect the authority of the sarkar and perform their duties.

Third Memorandum.

Should those who are willing to proceed, require the settlement of any small money concerns, something will be required from the Company for that purpose.

Fourth Memorandum.

Raja Pandhre is a sardar of rank and consequence in our sarkar, he has given in a memorandum of what he requires ; which, if deemed reasonable and proper, let it be settled accordingly.

Fifth Memorandum.

As the pay of the new sibandi may be fixed, let it be discharged.

Sixth Memorandum.

The pay of the sibandi foot is to be determined in the same manner.

Seventh Memorandum.

A lakh and fifty thousand Rupees have been already advanced to the Gaikwad troops ; and when 50,000 Rupees more is added, difficulties will disappear. It is necessary therefore to give two lakhs on the whole.

Eighth Memorandum.

The troops will require that the parekhs should continue to give them (for their families) some money ; let the parekhs be pleased and satisfied by Major Walker on this head.

Ninth Memorandum.

The arrears of Mir Husain are about one lakh of Rupees. If he is now paid 15 or 20,000 Rupees, and the amount of his varat on Baroda for 25,000 Rupees (for which the Major is bhandari) discharged, he will move directly.

Tenth memorandum.

A village in the district of Dholka was assigned for the payment of Jethabhai's paga. The parekh of Jethabhai Gaikwad had some assurance that he should receive the revenue of that village, and on this condition the parekh will continue to pay the paga, otherwise he will leave their arrears as they are, and the paga will not march. Let Jethabhai receive the recoverances of this village.

Eleventh memorandum.

Should the spoils or plunder of the enemy fall into the hands of our troops, they are not to be questioned on that head.

Twelfth memorandum.

They must not be prevented taking hay and firewood. If in the rainy season grass is procurable from the jungle, it shall be got from thence ; but, until this is the case, let the troops forage free.

Thirteenth memorandum.

If the sepoy of the two armies should disagree, let each party judge of his own, so that injustice may be punished and customs respected.

Fourteenth memorandum.

Grain is dear and scarce this year. If it should rise in its price, it will be necessary in proportion to make a little more allowance to the troops.

No. 8. Memorandum of cavalry and infantry proceeding with Raghunath Mahipat and their monthly wages.

								Rs.	a.	p.	
Pagas	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7,000	0	0	<i>Pay of troops</i>
Sibandi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	43,367	2	0	
Silahdars	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	52,903	2	0	
Sundries							Rs. a. p.				
Karkuns	..	..	..	..	..	..	500	0	0		
Kasids	..	..	..	..	..	..	178	0	0		
Zilliby	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,065	0	0		
Jasus	..	..	..	..	..	..	50	0	0		
Camels	..	..	..	..	..	..	380	0	0		
Beldars	..	..	..	..	..	..	291	0	0		
Mussalchees	..	..	..	..	..	..	36	0	0		
Dhalley as Lascars	..	..	..	..	..	..	32	0	0		
Halalcore	..	..	..	..	..	..	18	0	0		
Elephant keepers	..	..	..	..	..	..	75	0	0		
Nakil for Buxi	..	..	..	..	..	..	22	0	0		
Washerman	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	0	0		
Komatis	..	..	..	..	..	..	109	0	0		
Gunners	..	..	..	..	..	..	507	0	0		
Cartmen	..	..	..	..	..	..	165	0	0		
Iron smith	..	..	..	..	..	..	63	0	0		
Hammu men	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	0	0		
Carpenters	..	..	..	..	..	..	45	0	0		
Cooks	..	..	..	..	..	..	20	0	0		
Brahman to fetch water	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	0	0		
Chobdars	..	..	..	..	..	..	20	0	0		
Taylors	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	0	0		
Puckalies	..	..	..	..	..	..	18	0	0		
								3,653	0	0	
Karkuns of darakdars	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	600	0	0	
For Kakaji's expense and servants' wages	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,000	0	0	
Modikhana	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,000	0	0	

1,000 horsemen	..	..	..	..	45,000	0	0
800 foot	..	..	..	..	12,650	0	0
						57,650	0 0
2,000 horse and foot their additional pay at 20 Rupees.						40,000	0 0
Modikhana supplying grains	..	..	..	..		10,422	3 0
						Rs. 2,28,596	3 0

No. 9. Memorandum.

Rules of payment From Sun Thalab to 30th Rabial-akhir the half hafta that remains unpaid is to be settled and discharged, and 4 rozis also to be paid. This will amount to 5½ lakhs of Rupees.

The rozis, due to us by the parekhs, are to be got paid by them ; which is 2 lakhs.

As in Malwa there is a scarcity of grain, the forces are to be paid without deduction every month until their return to Champaner.

Last year's varats for rozi and hafta on the Mahi Kantha's mulukgiri are unpaid ; they are to be discharged, being about 75,000 Rupees.

According to the custom, horses killed, wounded men, lost swords, and the cost of all these articles to be added to hafta, and further the Hon'ble Company will make good the same.

If the price of grain does not exceed 8 pakka seers for a Rupee, they will not claim any more, but will rely upon the present settlement. In case however the price should exceed the aforesaid, they are to be allowed in proportion to the excess.

If any of our forces should desert to the British army and take employment, then they are to be returned ; also when they bring hay and wood, they shall not be interrupted on that head.

Letters were received from Baroda upon which they marched on the 24th May, and their employment or payment to commence from that day.

In the course of the war, sardars, or such others as show their bravery and their good service, shall be rewarded with inams and bakhshis.

1804 *Bombay, 22nd July, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 158)*

Jonathan Duncan to the Marquis of Wellesley.

Troops start By a letter, received from the Resident at Baroda of the 13th July, this Government has been advised that the Gaikwad troops marched on the 12th from Godhra to join Colonel Murray. They are stated to consist of 3,600 cavalry and 800 infantry ; and it was believed that they would join the British camp in Malwa by the 17th or 18th of this month.

1804 *Bombay, 25th July, 1804 (1804, P. D. 63B)*

Jonathan Duncan to Major Walker.

Kathiawar cavalry The Kathiawar scheme of supplying Colonel Murray with a body of horse must now be, I conclude, entirely superseded by the junction of the Gaikwad troops. Indeed it was never meant or understood by me otherwise than as a sort of last resource, of which also Colonel

Murray was himself left to be the judge. Of this you will be so good as to advise the Colonel, at the same time that I will defer from objecting to whatever he may judge likely to add to his strength.

Dohad, 4th August, 1804 (1804, P. D. 65B)

George Williams to Alexander Walker.

On receipt of the accompanying from Colonel Murray I called on *Kakaji's* Kakaji and told him that Colonel Capon with the convoy would march *promise* this evening or to-morrow, and that Colonel Murray desired that he would accompany him. Kakaji replied that he was ready to march, but that to-day and to-morrow were bad days, and that he could not march until the sixth. When I found that every argument of mine was in vain, I read Colonel Murray's letter to him, and told him that I must leave his camp immediately. Still he held out, but at last, after he was persuaded that I had no choice, but must quit him, he said : "Very well, I will march to-morrow. It cannot be a worse day than every day I have seen since I quitted my home." It has been raining hard during the whole of the night and still continues. However I have no doubt but Kakaji will keep his word, unless some Brahmans get hold of him and dissuade him from it.

No. 1. Letter from Colonel Murray to Captain George Williams, dated 29th July.

The delay of the Gaikwad troops is most distressing, and that which *Ultimatum* has occurred since you left Godhra, could no doubt have been avoided. *to Kakaji* Our convoys with heavy carriages have passed through the Bariya country at the very time these troops have halted ; and if they halt for every shower, I need not expect them at all. I have therefore determined to dispense with their services entirely, unless they accompany the British troops from Dohad.

I cannot consent to so useless and burthensome an expense. I could here engage nearly three times the number of men for the sum these troops cost. I have therefore to desire that in the event of Kakaji making any further demand or objecting to march, you will be pleased to inform him that you have my instructions to withdraw from his camp and to join the British troops ordered to my army.

Such sardars as may accompany you, shall be paid according to your arrangements. Those that remain behind, can have no further claim on the British Government. After giving this information you will of course quit the camp and leave Kakaji to proceed as he may think proper. You will be pleased to acquaint Major Walker with the result of this order and likewise inform me by express in duplicate of its receipt and consequences. I request it may be strictly and literally attended to. If however no difficulties are made, it is unnecessary to make the contents of this letter known to the Gaikwad sardars.

No. 2. Letter from Kakaji to Major Walker, dated Dohad, 2nd August, 1804.

I have not been favoured with a communication from you for some *Kakaji's* time, let me request to receive your letters more frequently. I reached *excuses* this place with my troops on the 21st instant. From Godhra to Dohad

is but three days' march, although it took me fifteen; which I understand much displeased you, and consequently gave me considerable uneasiness; yet it happened unavoidably from the great quantity of rain that fell when we were encamped at Kumbhari. From the same cause all our resources for the supply of provisions were cut off. Grain was with difficulty to be procured at the rate of two and two and a half seers per Rupee. Our people were reduced to the utmost extremity, and our cattle of all descriptions daily died in numbers. I availed myself however of the first change in the weather to march to Luckerkote, and from thence to this station.

You are no doubt made acquainted by Captain Williams with the difficulties we experienced on our march from the depth and badness of the roads. In consequence of these circumstances the difficulty we should experience from the nature of the road beyond this (being black earth) has induced me to wait the arrival of a pair of kasids with their report on the state of the roads, whom I sent for that purpose; on which I shall set out to join Colonel Murray without any further possible delay.

N.B.—In Kakaji's own handwriting, after repeating and recapitulating the former paragraphs of this letter:

We have experienced many difficulties from the rains and lost a number of horses and cattle; but be assured that no unnecessary delay has arisen on my part, and that I am extremely uneasy at what has occurred. We are however preparing at all events to march forward; you must know from Captain Williams the state of Holkar's troops with the place of his encampment. What more can I say?

1804 *On the banks of the Anas, 7th August, 1804 (1804, P. D. 63B)*

George Williams to Alexander Walker.

Advance

We marched yesterday, and arrived at this place distant from Dohad about 9 kos, accompanied by Lieutenant Capon and the British detachment. We halt here to-day in consequence of some of the convoy not having yet arrived.

1804 *Badnawar, 12th August, 1804 (1804, P. D. 63B)*

Colonel Murray to George Williams.

Orders

I have only to add that, except for the convoy, I am now quite indifferent as to the part Kakaji may take. I can procure 10,000 good troops for the sum his few men cost. Such being my sentiments and determined resolution, I have only to desire that, on the first symptom of disobedience or of reluctance to march, communicate them to Kakaji, and immediately quit their camp.

1804 *Badnawar, 12th August, 1804 (1804, P. D. 63B)*

George Williams to Colonel Murray.

Leaves camp

I am sorry to inform you that Kakaji refused to march this morning from Rajod. I have therefore in compliance with your orders left his camp and joined the detachment at this place. I believe Kakaji intends marching to-morrow. Should he join, I shall of course decline having any official communication with him, until I receive your orders. The particulars relative to my leaving the Gaikwad camp, I shall have the honour of communicating to-morrow when my baggage comes up.

After I had taken leave of him, when he refused to march, your letter of the 10th arrived, requiring the 1,000 horse. This detachment he refused also.

Badnawar, 13th August, 1804 (1804, P. D. 63B)

1804

George Williams to Colonel Murray.

In a short note last night I had the honour of acquainting you *Kakaji's refusal* last night that I had left the Gaikwad camp. The signal for marching not having been given yesterday morning, I sent a message to Kakaji to inquire into the cause of it. He sent for answer that his guns, bazar and many of his men had not come up, and that he would not march until they arrived. I immediately called on him and told him that, as our escort had marched, it was absolutely necessary that he should proceed also. He said that he could not proceed without them. I stayed with him nearly an hour (during which time his guns, etc. arrived), and I made him perfectly understand your orders to me, and that in obedience to them I should be obliged to quit his camp, if he did not march that day. He again said it was impossible, as his men were fatigued and could not go on. He expressed his regret at my being obliged to quit him, and said that he was to have been joined by Anantrao Pawar, the Dhar Chieftain, at Badnawar, but that now he was at a loss what measures to pursue. I endeavoured to prevail on some of the jamadars to proceed with me, but all their answers were to wait, and we should proceed together. On my quitting the camp I had the honour of receiving your letter of the 10th, in consequence thereof I again returned to Kakaji and pointed out the necessity of an instant compliance and to send off the 1,000 horse. He told me it was impossible that he could send detachments from his camp, for that they depend on his bazar for supplies, and also that he could not diminish his command by sending off parties, as, wherever they were to be employed, he wished to be with them himself. Early this morning I received a letter from Kakaji, purporting that, if we would halt here to-day, that he would join us, and proceed with the escort if I would promise to join him as before. I sent him for answer that I understood the detachment would halt here to-day and march to-morrow. The Dhar Chieftain, says he, has 300 infantry and 200 horse.

Rajod, 13th August, 1804 (1804, P. D. 63B)

1804

Kakaji to Sitaram and the Diwanji.

On leaving Petlawad, Captain Williams informed me that he had received his directions from the Colonel that the British detachment would proceed on first, and that I was to follow. This I did for eight kos to the banks of the Mahi, when little of the day remained. Here was but one pass, and no place on either side within a kos' distance for encampment. Thus situated, and the baggage of the British detachment only remained, I made a request that we should be permitted to pass on one side. This, however, was not complied with, and indeed not till the night had considerably advanced, when but myself and a part of the people had time to pass the guns, and the bazar even left behind. On reaching Rajod half the night had elapsed, and without a grain of provisions for man or horse. The camp was attacked by the *Kakaji's apology*

Bhils, and ten horses carried off, as the people fatigued had lain down to rest.

Half the next day was spent in getting the bazar and guns, when Captain Williams directed me to proceed on. To this I replied: "The horses have been without grain, and the people without their victuals; rather therefore let us wait this day, when I shall be ready to accompany you at an early hour in the morning." Regardless of this, they marched on; and Captain Williams, who hitherto had remained in my camp, went on also. Bhau Saheb, need I say I have often marched; but let me say I never till this day experienced such difficulties and hardship, which however seems not worthy the consideration of any one. The people, dissatisfied indeed, even abuse me. To-day I shall march to join them, though I cannot answer whether I shall be able to effect it or not.

My future fortune however God can only look into; since the person, under whose dependent protection I set out, has thus acted, it appears to me likely that the same will be the case with any other. It remains therefore to see whether Captain Williams means to join my camp as before or not. Should we however meet, I shall request him to do so. It further remains also to see what Colonel Murray means to do, and the blessing of our future meeting must depend on the favour of our deceased relation. Let this be communicated to the Major, that he may write for my future protection without delay. What more need I say?

1804 *Ujjain, 18th August, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 160)*

Colonel Murray to General Nicolls.

Complaints You are not unacquainted with the exorbitant demands and unwarrantable delays they have made. Passing over these circumstances, I think it my duty to state their conduct to Government since their arrival at Dohad, after every demand they preferred had been acceded to.

Convinced by former experience that a considerable halt would be made at Dohad, I directed Captain Williams to use every exertion to induce Mahipatrao [*Kakaji*] to advance with a large escort of treasure and grain, which had been assembled at that place; and I instructed him in the event of refusal, or of other charges being brought forward, to quit the Gaikwad camp and inform the commanding officer that he might proceed as he thought fit, but that he had no further claims on the British Government. Although, Sir, from my repeated letters Mahipatrao was well aware of the value and importance of the convoy and the necessity of his immediate junction with my army, he refused to march under a frivolous pretence; and it was not till Captain Williams produced my orders that he agreed to move. I confess that, after the corps marched from Dohad, I expected no further difficulties till they should join me. It was not therefore without surprise and concern that I learnt from Captain Williams that Mahipatrao halted at Rajod, and that he would not accompany the British escort. Every remonstrance on the part of Captain Williams was in vain, and he quitted his camp. Previous however to his departure, he received a letter from me, accompanied by one to Mahipatrao, requesting that a detachment

of one thousand men might be sent to Vijalpur, where it should be met by a detachment from hence. I pressed this in an earnest manner, acquainting Mahipatrao that the service for which they were required was of the utmost importance and connected with the movements of other troops. I have received no answer to my letter, but he acquainted Captain Williams that he would not detach a single man, and that he meant to keep his body of troops collected. This, Sir, puts a total end to my hopes of deriving any advantage from the Gaikwad's army whilst under its present leaders.

Enclosed I have the honour to forward a copy of the monthly pay of that army, which appears to me most exorbitant. I fear, Sir, what appears an advantage, having people of consequence at the head of these troops, will, for every purpose for which a British army can require native cavalry, be found a very serious inconvenience. For Mahipatrao's personal expenses alone I could engage nearly 500 of the best cavalry of this country.

By my latest accounts the Gaikwad troops remained at Rajod. The convoy has passed the only exposed part of the roads without them, and I expect it will arrive in camp to-morrow.

An account of the pagadars, silahdars, and sibandis, horse and foot, as given by Kakaji to me at Dohad, this day, August 1st, 1804.

	Rs.	a.	p.	
Pagadars	7,000	0	0	<i>Pay of troops</i>
Silahdars	52,999	0	0	
Sibandi horsemen (925)	42,431	2	0	
Sibandi new levy	54,000	0	0	
Infantry new men .. .. .	.....		
Infantry new men 18 berricks [companies] (800)	12,650	0	0	
18 berricks old sepoys	2,926	0	0	
Establishments and Kakaji's pay and expenses : golandaz, artificers, elephant-keepers, camel and bullock-drivers, jasus, harkaras, beldars, tibeldars, etc.	17,143	0	0	
Feeding the paidals' horses, camels, elephants and bullocks	10,423	3	0	
Additional pay of 20 Rs. each to 2,027 in consequence of proceeding on distant service and high price of provisions	40,540	0	0	
	Rs. 2,40,113	1	0	

Ujjain, 23rd August, 1804 (1804, P. D. 63B)

Kakaji to Sitaram and Sakharam Diwanji.

1804

While ready to move, I write this and have to observe that your late silence has given me uneasiness, but which, I trust, will be removed in future by your more frequent communications. *Reconciliation*

I need not repeat here the subject of my first meeting with Colonel Murray; but since that, the Colonel's letter has come, requesting me to forget what had passed, to accept of half our pay due, and that the remainder should be given. To this I replied that, as the people were

two months in arrears, they would not be satisfied with half. He then directed one month's pay to be issued, and in the night sent us 1 lakh and 20,000 Rupees in bags, and said that for the remainder he would give an order. The difficulties however attending the liquidation of a draft from the conduct of the shroffs here would be so great that I shall endeavour to prevail on the Colonel at this day's encampment to make it up in cash.

Captain Williams, in conformity to what has past on that subject to-day, joins us. Thus has a complete reconciliation taken place between us, and my conduct shall in each particular of future operation or duty be guided by his wishes. For the better security however of its continuance and to thwart anything Captain Burr may do, it is necessary, I say, that you should get Major Walker to write often in regard to us.

To-day the Colonel has marched in the direction of Indore, leaving here [*Ujjain*] two battalions with the sick, etc. I have also marched and shall join the English encampment.

Though I have heard nothing to verify the assertion, yet I conceive our next step from Indore will be to Maheshwar. Time will show.

Holkar is encamped 10 or 12 kos beyond Bundikotah. The Bengal battalions, who had an engagement with Holkar, have been reinforced with other corps from that quarter, and we will advance towards him. This I state from report. Harnath is lying 10 kos to the southward of Kotah.

Mir Khan Bungish with other Pathans are at Surung Beelsa with a force of 20,000 men.

Hirah Pindari is from this 20 kos. Jaswantrao with other confederates are 12 kos, and the whole act under the standard of Holkar.

Sivjirao Ghatke reached Burhanpur on the 12th August, on his way to Ujjain and, I should suppose, favourably impressed towards our enemy.

I have been given to understand that the Shenvis of this city [*Ujjain*] with one consent have commenced a negotiation with Sindia.

The numerous and strong detachments lying in all directions of us, impressed with an idea of the fewness of our numbers, will no doubt, on our moving to any distance from this, surround and partially attack us, I mean the Pindaris, Mir Khan and Jaswanrao; which at least appears probable from report. To-day we have marched, and with our future fortune God only is acquainted.

In respect to Pawar, who is here, I have wrote for your information separately.

Kakaji here assumes the pen, he observes that Captain Burr is here the karbari; and that the conduct or disposition of that officer, he is afraid, is little adapted to render his present good understanding with the Colonel lasting. Captain Williams seems to have little to say, but to-day joins the camp as before. Our camp to-day will be 7 kos from this at Sanwer, and from which Indore is distant 9 kos. The day before yesterday Indore was plundered by Holkar's Ramavisdar, where, as well as in Burhanpur and Meheshwar, the greatest scarcity prevails. Let this letter convey my blessing to you. What more can I say?

Camp 2 kos from Indore, 25th August, 1804 (1804 P. D. 63B)
Kakaji to Sitaram and the Diwanji.

1804

Let me request your more frequent communications, as your late *Complaints* silence has given me much uneasiness.

Our march from Ujjain commenced, as I had an opportunity in my last of the 16th of mentioning to you, making two days' march from thence to Indore. On the 16th we encamped at Suare [*Sanwer*], and on the 17th arrived here.

Bhau Saheb, the whole of this country is waste by the continued and frequent depredations of Holkar. A few habitations only are remaining in Sindia's mahals and the Dhar districts; in the pargana of Indore not the appearance of vegetation is to be found, the rates of grain being at two pakka seers, which it is difficult to procure even at that price. This place was formerly stripped; and the kamavisdar, finding that Colonel Murray was coming, plundered such poor people as might have escaped the common wreck of former depredations, and fled with his spoils to the Mewasis or inhabitants of the jungle.

In Sarare and Vejalpur a few habitations remain; Ujjain is a spot of famine, provisions are not to be had, and death prevails. The numerous influx of persons from the Deccan and Malwa has filled the place. The lords of lakhs have become beggars. Indeed such is the state of this country that it is not to be described on paper, and it can only be restored to tranquillity by the removal of these numerous armies.

My people are now put to the greatest difficulty in procuring grain. I conceive we shall proceed to the Maheshwar. The Zabuya [*Jhabua?*] Ghat is stopped by the Kolis and other Mewasis, and under these circumstances we shall not be able to pass it under four days, and the grain is not to be had. Twelve Rupees is now not sufficient to fill the belly. Two months are past, of which the Colonel has but given half; for the balance we are to have a hundi. Each day brings me fresh troubles from the prevailing scarcity of every kind of grain.

The news of Holkar's army stands, as I acquainted you in my letter of the 16th. The Pindaris are moving about at a distance of five or seven kos. The Colonel has left three battalions with the sick, etc. at Ujjain, having the rest *in toto* with him. Pawar also is with us; but not any arrangement has been made for his expenses, and he is consequently experiencing much inconvenience. I have already given him for his own use Rupees 5,000. Thus situated, I would recommend a speedy arrangement, as was written on the 16th. Bhau Saheb, need I say that it was settled at Godhra by Chimmaji Diwanji Saheb and Sir Miguel de Souza that the pay of individuals should be increased, when 6 seers of grain were not to be had for a Rupee; and the people consequently under our present circumstances do not lose sight of that promise, who were at first much pleased with their trip here. In speaking to the Colonel on this subject I have obtained little advantage, as it is with the greatest difficulty that he pays what has been settled, and in this he is only actuated under a conviction that it is the Major's wish. The balance indeed he does not pay.

Kakaji here assumes the pen and repeats in strong terms the prevailing scarcity of the times, the difficulty he has to make any

representation to Colonel Murray, the desolated state of the country, that he requested the Colonel to supply them with grain, for which he would pay, but who replied, "From whence is it to come?"

I have understood that to-morrow we march for Maheshwar. Jaswantrao Bhau is about 10 or 12 kos from Ujjain. The Pindaris and confederated detachments are in one body. The Shenvis are assembling. Garjurao Gautge has reached Burhanpur.

Vithal Pant, karkun of Banaji Shata, is now conducting Sindia's karbari in administration, in which many difficulties or troubles appear, and the karkuns of Ujjain are therefore about to leave that place; of the purport however of these proceedings I am utterly ignorant.

The son of Murrarrao Daulat came to visit me at Ujjain and informed me that much was going on, but that no arrangement had yet taken place. The great force or power of Holkar has brought fear to them all, since on the event of the English being successful or otherwise, their future allegiance to Holkar or Sindia depends. If successful, they will side with Sindia; and if otherwise, they are with Holkar.

The thana of Sindia is to be placed at Indore, of which I am informed by Captain Williams. Every report by goers and comers from Holkar's camp states him to be in great power and good circumstances. We hear little of the Bengal troops, though the Colonel says there is one campoo or camp out. What more can I say?

1804 *Bombay, 6th September, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 160)*

Jonathan Duncan's Minute.

*Murray &
Kakaji*

The other parts of Colonel Murray's letter exhibit very serious charges against Mahipatrao, otherwise called Kakaji, the commandant of the Gaikwad cavalry; to which that native commander's defence stands on record, in our diary under date the 31st of last month, as a sequel to which I have now to deliver in the following further documents:

No. 1. Kakaji to Major Walker, dated the 20th August.

No. 2. Colonel Murray's letter to Mahipatrao Kakaji, dated the 16th of August.

Most earnestly do I wish it were in our power to avoid altogether expressing any opinion on, or proposing any act in reference to these proceedings in Malwa; but that not being the case, I proceed to notice that the most serious consideration, which we have to enter on, relates to the Colonel's appearing to have gone tantamount to discharge or, at least, to declare his indifference as to the continuance of the Gaikwad forces after their arrival at Ujjain; which under present circumstances had been, I think, better avoided. It seems probable that with all their faults these troops will be found at least as trustworthy and useful as any other of a similar description, to which we can in that country have recourse; and should they be now remanded with disgrace into Gujarat, the consequences may, with our present very diminished force in that country, prove undesirable in more respects than one; neither might it perhaps be prudent to repose, after such an event, any confidence on their future fidelity; especially under such incitements as, not only Kanhoji, but Holkar would not fail in that case to hold out to them, in a like manner as the latter is said to have successfully practised in a late instance on one of the retainers of Doulatrao Sindia.

Conceiving therefore that nothing remains for us at this advanced stage of their progress but to make the most of the Gaikwad troops' services, such as they may be able and willing to render, consistently likewise with all practicable reduction in the charges of their establishment, which is what chiefly swells the monthly disbursement in their account, I suggest the following resolutions, founded chiefly on what appears from the letters herewith delivered in from Kakaji to be that commander's feeling since Captain Williams's separation from his camp and from being the channel of his communication with Colonel Murray (in like manner as Mr. Carnac was in the last campaign) ; in view to which and to guard as far as possible against the recurrence of the effects of impatience (however excited by circumstances of provocation) and consequent estrangement between the British and Gaikwad troops engaged in the common cause against Holkar, I conceive it will prove useful to place this contingent of the Gaikwad in the field on a similar footing nearly to that which they have before served, for which purpose the following rules and modifications appear to be to me applicable.

1st. Captain Williams to be confirmed as the agent from the Gaikwad Darbar, remaining in that capacity along with its troops serving with the British army, and corresponding with it for this purpose through the Resident. *Regulations*

2nd. He will of course in this capacity continue to be the channel of Colonel Murray's communications with those troops and carry all the Colonel's orders into execution respecting them ; which he is on all occasions to consider as his primary duty ; receiving also from the Colonel all due support in the discharge of the trust thus reposed in him.

3rd. Captain Williams will pay those troops with funds furnished by the Resident, who will take care to provide for that purpose by the joint means of the Gaikwad and the Company, but in such a manner as to affect in as small a degree as possible the funds provided for the pay of the British troops.

4th. These payments Captain Williams will make under the authority of the Resident, to whom it is to be enjoined to use every exertion to reduce the charges of their establishment and other expense within as reasonable bounds as possible.

5th. Colonel Murray to be informed that the expense of these troops is to be regretted ; at the same time that from the circumstances under which it has been incurred, as narrated in the letter from the Resident at Baroda of the 20th of July, of which the Colonel has a copy, it appears to have become unavoidable, though we hope yet to effect a reduction in its amount.

6th. It may be intimated to the Colonel that, whilst we readily admit that the course of tergiversation so long maintained by the Gaikwad troops, has afforded ground for the dissatisfaction and unfavourable opinion with which from his letter to General Nicolls of the 15th ultimo he appears to be impressed regarding them, yet the best means of lessening the ill-effects, of which this disposition on their part may at any time be likely to become productive, must in our opinion consist in acting towards them with a degree of indulgence and encouraging forbearance suitable to their habits ; whence, as they appear to have entered in the service in the expectation of Captain Williams' continuing

to be their channel of communication with the British army and for receiving the Colonel's orders, we have confirmed the last mentioned officer in that situation as conducive to inciting them to active exertion and towards rendering them as effective as their manners and prepossessions admit.

Lastly, it should be intimated that, as from the long arrears of more than six months, in which, so much to our regret and notwithstanding our represented orders, the Paymaster's accounts have been continued, we possess no sufficient information of the nature and extent of the expense of the contingencies of the army in Malwa and more particularly of that part thereof bearing reference to the native cavalry, of which the Colonel intimates to have authorised further levies, we desire him to cause the Paymaster to furnish [us] as soon as possible with a detailed statement of the charge incurred on this account since the period of the Colonel being ordered by the Hon'ble General Wellesley to take the field against Jaswantrao Holkar; observing that, although we feel averse to lay the Colonel under positive restriction on this head, yet, as we conceive it to be contrary to the intention of the Hon'ble General Wellesley and likewise of the Supreme Government that any further material expense for native cavalry should be incurred beyond the aid, which the former had pointed out as derivable from the Gaikwad auxiliaries or some substitute for them, in the event of their having failed to join (the great uncertainty as to which was what alone gave rise, on hearing in July of the Colonel's falling back for want of troops, to the idea of a body of cavalry in lieu of them being eventually supplied from Kathiawar) it becomes our duty to suggest to him, in concurrence with the advice he had also received from the Resident with Sindia on the same general subject, that it will probably be found most suitable to the original plan of the equipment, as immediately authorised by the Hon'ble General Wellesley, to avoid as much as possible entertaining new levies of cavalry, now that the contingent, intended from the first to serve with the Chieftain of Dhar, the nephew of the Gaikwad Raja, the weight of whose family's influence, as one of the constituent sardars of the Maratha Association, ought to render his assistance acceptable and useful, as was accordingly the opinion entertained of our encouraging it by the Hon'ble General Wellesley, in the spirit of whose views, with respect to whatever relates to Colonel Murray's command, it is our sole object to proceed, as concluding they must prove equally consonant to the wishes and objects of the Supreme Government.

It may in view to the letter from Major Walker on the subject of the 20th of July be referred to the Acting Military Auditor General to report his opinion what allowances should be fixed on Captain Williams as acting with the Gaikwad contingent.

1803 No. 1. *Letter from Kakaji to Major Walker, dated Ujjain 20th August, 1804.*

Disse- Some time has now elapsed since the receipt of a letter from you ;
sions need I say this has given me considerable uneasiness ?

On the 9th instant I reached this place, but had not a meeting with Colonel Murray for 3 days ; which happened from a trifling indisposition I was labouring under, and as the weather was extremely severe.

Yesterday I first waited on the Colonel, who, addressing himself to me, observed that my force was very expensive, more so indeed than an army of 8,000 men, and that he did not require me unless I would accede to the reduction of each individual's pay to half the sum that had been agreed on and to the detaching of my sowars of a 1,000 or 500 as they might be required.

To this I made reply that the Hon'ble the Governor had the interest of my state at heart, and under whose auspices, as one of yourselves, I had proceeded on this expedition, not as a paradesi or hireling of the day, and that neither was Major Walker ignorant of my expenses. I observed: "You desire me to go back. How can I? Should it be your entire wish, give me a letter to that purpose, Captain Williams along with me, and I will proceed." To this he but said that he would give me neither a letter, nor permit Captain Williams to accompany me, nor afford me money. Thus, Sir, am I situated. With whom or under whose protection am I to remain? And on my further taking the liberty to observe that Captain Williams had been attached to me from Baroda, he answered that, stay or go, he should not again join me. Observe also the contents of the Persian chit or the copy accompanying this. That was sent me by the Colonel.

On the march to Ujjain an order from the Colonel, communicated to me in writing by Captain Williams, was sent, directing me to detach a thousand sowars to Vejalpur. To this I returned an answer that I was upon the road, that on my arrival we could be inspected, and then detached as might be required.

Captain Williams informed me that he received his written orders from the Colonel to proceed on with the battalion, and that I might return if I liked; that these were orders he could not disobey; and on particularly requesting to know his instructions, he read them to me. He now resides near the Colonel.

It appears Captain Burr is mukhtar for everything here, who tells me in a peremptory manner that he has prepared 50,000 men. Let me then say, Sir, it was from dependence on you that I came here and not to gain my support by this service. On the receipt of your letter, with which I wish to be favoured quickly, I shall regulate my conduct accordingly.

The people have become clamorous for their pay, and what can I do? It is necessary however I should bear it, as it has been your wish. Indeed I feel no uneasiness, as it is you that I expect to relieve me from this unpleasant situation.

Remark in the Diary.

Kakaji writes under the same date to the same effect to Sitaram with the addition that Colonel Murray entered on this discussion when he was not prepared for it, as it was at his first visit, which he expected according to custom would be purely complimentary. He observes that Anandrao Pawar joined him on the 10th instant.

No. 2. Letter from Colonel Murray to Kakaji, enclosed in Major Walker's letter.

Your letter I have received and am concerned to learn of your *Warning* indisposition. Captain Williams, in conformity to my orders, quitted your camp, who must have made it known to you, as I directed him so

to do, as also that I left it to your will to return or move on ; but that from the day he should quit you, your claims on the Hon'ble Company would cease ; in which light also look up yourself at present. Much yet remains to say, of which indeed you may be ignorant, but which, on our meeting in the morning, will be fully explained.

1804 *Bombay, 7th September, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 160)*

Jonathan Duncan to the Marquis of Wellesley.

*Appeal to
G.-General*

We have the honour to advise Your Excellency-in-Council of the arrival of the Gaikwad troops at Ujjain on the 16th of August, on the day preceding which Colonel Murray addressed a letter, as per copy enclosed, to the commanding officer of the forces, charging Kakaji, their commander, with dilatoriness and disobedience, in consequence of which he had orders for Captain Williams (whom in consequence with the Native Administration at Baroda the Resident there had sent to accompany the contingent in question) to leave their camp, attended with the further announced consequence of their having no longer to look to our Government for their pay.

The manner in which Kakaji accounts for the circumstances that led to these orders, will be found in his accompanying letters to Major Walker and to his nephew Sitaram, the Minister at Baroda, under dates the 2nd and 13th of August, and from the relative correspondence between Colonel Murray and Captain Williams, inclusive of the latter's communications to the Resident at Baroda, of all which copies are herewith submitted for Your Excellency's notice.

Kakaji appears to have continued his march, after Captain Williams had left him, to the camp at Ujjain, where we are sorry to find stated in the accompanying further letter from that commander under date the 20th of August that uncordial discussions had ensued, accompanied with an expressed indifference on the part of Colonel Murray whether the Gaikwad forces should continue with him or return, and a seeming preference to their adopting the latter alternative. No advices have been received from Colonel Murray of a later date than the 15th ; but, as under the present state of the war in Malwa, combined with a view to the local circumstances of Gujarat, the maintenance of cordiality between the British Government and Gaikwad troops now in the field appears to us, on the grounds generally set forth in the accompanying copy of our President's Minute of yesterday's date, to be extremely desirable, we have, therefore, concurred in giving effect to the several propositions therein suggested ; being such as the nature of the case has seemed indispensably to require, or otherwise we would rather have left the whole subject open for Your Excellency's sole decision ; trusting however that, in the medium we have pursued, Your Excellency will perceive nothing more done than our public duty has called for by establishing such rules for the co-operation of the Gaikwad with the British troops as may tend to avoid misunderstanding or irritation on either side.

1804 *Bombay, 12th September, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 160)*

General Nicolls to Jonathan Duncan.

Dissension

I have the honour to send enclosed the copy of a letter from Colonel Murray, dated 22nd ultimo, with copies of papers which accompanied

it, which contain a fuller account of the conversation at the interview, which took place on the 16th, and the subsequent correspondence between the Colonel and Mahipatrao Kakaji, than that already in your possession. As this subject has been already referred to His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General, I request that these papers may also be forwarded for His Lordship's information.

To me it is clear that Colonel Murray's want of cavalry would have induced him to do all in his power to secure a treaty co-operation with the Gaikwad troops, and that he must naturally have felt great disappointment after the heavy expense, which has been incurred by Government, on finding a body sent to act under him, whose services he could not command. It cannot be necessary to call your attention, Hon'ble Sir, to the very authoritative style, in which the letters of Mahipatrao of the 20th and 21st of August are written; it is highly inconsistent with every principle of military subordination and appears to me to have been imposed upon Kakaji by the troops under his charge in order to obtain their demands.

No. 1. *Letter from Colonel Murray to General Nicolls, dated 22nd August, 1804.*

I had the honour of communicating to you in my letter of the 15th instant that, in consequence of Kakaji's refusal to accompany the British detachment from Rajod, on pretences by no means satisfactory to him, Captain Williams had quitted the camp of the Gaikwad troops. I have the honour to enclose a copy of the order under which Captain Williams acted. *Kakaji useless*

Lieutenant-Colonel Capon, from some circumstances respecting the convoy, was obliged to halt at Badnawar and was again joined by the Gaikwad troops, and the whole detachment arrived at Ujjain on the 16th instant. Mahipatrao encamped at a great distance and announced his arrival on the following day. In the meantime I had received a letter from him, acknowledging the receipt of my application for the Vejalpur detachment and acquainting me that he would not comply with it. Captain Williams likewise informed me that Mahipatrao objected to making any detachment whatever.

I conceived that this point and some others of no less importance required an explanation previous to Captain William's return to the Gaikwad army, but in the meantime he carried on a constant communication between Mahipatrao and me. On the 19th Mahipatrao visited me; and after the usual ceremonies we retired, accompanied by Captain Williams, to a private tent, where I proposed discussing such points as required to be perfectly understood by both. The first (and as it proved the only) topic which was touched upon was his general refusal to detach and in a more particular manner his refusal of sending troops to Vejalpur. In this refusal he persisted with a degree of violence and obstinacy that I despaired of getting the better of his resolution; and I informed him that, unless he considered himself as subject to my orders, the service of his troops could not be depended upon, and consequently that he could no longer be considered in the pay of the British Government. I added that the concessions in his favour were so great that we were entitled to every exertion in his power, and that

for the pay given his troops I could engage 8,000 of the best cavalry in Malwa. Mahipat then asked me what he should do. I desired him to follow his own inclination. This, Sir, is the material part of the conversation on this subject. He started many objectionable claims, among others that his force should be augmented to 20 or 25,000 men, that he should be consulted in every movement, etc.

I assured him in answer to the latter proposition that I should at all times be happy to consult with him ; but that, should we differ, I would be under the necessity of following my own opinion ; and with respect to the former it was totally out of the question. Kakaji then applied to me for money, and not satisfied with the sum I had offered (one lakh and twenty thousand Rupees), he insisted on receiving three lakhs eighty thousand. To this I positively objected, as it would not have left me one lakh in the treasury, and the more that he was not entitled to the sum ; and I further informed him that I should now be obliged to allot the money, which was intended for him, to the payment of other troops. I refused to send back Captain Williams, as I conceived all further communication unnecessary.

Previous to his leaving my tent, Kakaji requested till the evening to consider of this conversation ; and other letters, which accompany this dispatch, will sufficiently explain what has further passed between us. I conceived till half an hour ago that this business was settled, and that he would return to Gujarat ; but finding that I had conceded everything in my power, he has agreed to the engagements I proposed, and will march with me to-morrow.

I beg leave to assure you, Sir, that sensible of the importance of the presence of this body of troops, I have used every effect to conciliate Kakaji, and during the conversation above reported treated him with every degree of attention and respect, although he wishes to insinuate the contrary ; but I conceived it a duty imposed upon me to discharge from the service of the Hon'ble Company so burthensome a body of troops, from whom no service was to be expected. I believe however this affair is merely patched up. Kakaji's expectations are altogether so great, and his demands so unreasonable that I despair of his rendering that service the British Government is entitled to expect. It shall however be my constant object to keep a good understanding with this sardar ; but, when Daulatrao Sindia shall be enabled to collect a force, it may be advisable to send back the Gaikwad troops to Gujarat.

I shall have the honour to lay before you in a few days the arrangements I have made for the services of other bodies of cavalry.

No. 2. Letter from Colonel Murray to Captain Williams, dated Ujjain, 29th July.

See entry 4th August, 1904, enclosure No. 1.

No. 3. Letter from Colonel Murray to Kakaji, dated Ujjain, 10th August.

*Orders to
Kakaji*

I had last night the pleasure of receiving your letter from Dohad. I hope this will find you well advanced on your march. Some of my troops are at present in the Vejalpur pargana, which has been taken possession of for His Highness Doulatrao Sindia. For some purposes now in agitation it is necessary to strengthen this party, I therefore

request you will order 1,000 good cavalry to Vejalpur, as soon after you receive this letter as possible. Your troops will be met by our troops ; and the officer, entrusted by you with this service, will then receive instructions from me. This service is most important. I therefore request you will send good cavalry ; and if you have no objection, I should think Amin Saheb well calculated to command.

When I have the pleasure of seeing you, I shall have the honour of communicating to you the purpose for which this detachment is required.

No. 4. Letter from Colonel Murray to Kakaji, dated Ujjain, 17th August.

I have received your letter and am extremely sorry to find you have been seized with illness. I shall be glad to see you to-morrow, and beg to know the hour most convenient for you. Captain Williams left your camp by my orders ; and he was desired to inform you that the troops with you were at liberty after his departure to proceed or return as you should think it, but that I would no longer consider them as entitled to pay or as having claims on the British Government. Affairs are still in that state and must continue so till some points, which I believe you do not perfectly understand, are explained. This shall be done at the meeting to-morrow.

No. 5. Letter from Kakaji to Colonel Murray, Ujjain, 20th August.

I have received your letter of this date, in which I conceive it was meant to be intimated that I should write in Persian, as I now take the liberty to do.

You commanded me to send 1,000 men to Depalpur. In answer I must inform you that, if it was for a detachment of two, three days or even a week, I should not hesitate to send them ; but, if for a long period (two months for instance), they cannot go.

I came here expressly for the public service and shall obey your directions, but my people are much in want of money. Their pay is now in arrears, and they insist on having it. I promised them that, on joining Colonel Murray at Ujjain, it should be settled. There are now, Sir, two arrears due ; they should be paid in Ujjain currency. When this is done, they will make the requisite preparations ; without it, they will not get ready. Therefore send the two arrears, which I shall distribute accordingly, and the troops will go to the place you desired.

In the course of conversation you mentioned my not being equipped by above a quarter, as I should have been, agreeable to the money I had received, that I was of neither necessity or importance, and might go and stay as I pleased. To this I reply that Governor Duncan sent me here, not in the light of a servant, but having due regard to the friendship entertained for my Government and the dignity of it. He made a certain settlement for my expenses, and appointed Captain Williams to act between us as an earnest of future payments. Now you, Sir, say that Captain Williams should not be sent with me, and that you will furnish me with no more money. Of course as you please. But, Sir, you ought to consider me in the same light that Mr. Duncan does and make some arrangements for my expenses. You ought further

to exalt me agreeable to my dignity, you must not consider me as a servant. I leave this to your consideration. I did not think that you would make so many objections against me. However what is past, is past.

Now, Sir, you must prepare for the settlement of my expenses and send Captain Williams to remain in my camp. Grain is exceedingly dear. 5 seers for a Baroda Rupee. On the road it was sometimes 3 and sometimes 4. My people demanded additional pay. On these several heads I have spoken to Captain Williams and desired him to explain to you at large.

My trust and support are in the Hon'ble Company, and you ought to protect me in every respect. I have now represented everything and request you will oblige me with an answer.

No. 6. *Letter from Colonel Murray to Kakaji, dated Ujjain, 20th August.*

*Murray
explains*

I have had the pleasure of receiving your letter, which has been translated, and I understand its contents. I wrote you this morning to acquaint you that I had nobody present, who would read your letter, as my interpreter was gone to perform his religious ceremonies.

I must in the first place repeat to you that I am no less interested in the fate of the British troops than in yours. They are destined to act together; and a misfortune, that happens to either, must be felt by both; and if a misfortune should occur from my bad conduct to your troops, I should be held responsible as much as if it even to happen to my own. In this respect there is no difference.

You will at all times find me solicitous, not only to consult with you with respect to your own troops, but on every other occasion; and I do not think you have cause from any part of the conversation of yesterday to suppose I wish to lower your dignity. On the contrary, I know the situation of an officer-in-command must be supported. I certainly told you that, if you would not follow such instructions as I thought necessary to give as the officer to whom the command of the united armies is entrusted, you were at liberty to proceed where you thought proper. What you now say about detaching your troops is satisfactory to me. I neither have nor had any intention of detaching your men above two or three days. As this point therefore is now settled, Captain Williams will return to you, and I have no doubt everything will go on well.

With respect to the payment of your troops, I think it would be unreasonable in them to expect to be paid in coin different from that in which the British troops are paid, and I have it not to give. That point is settled. As I am yet unacquainted with some points on the subject of your payment, I must decline any payment for a particular space of time. But I have no objection to send you one lakh and 20,000 Rupees, till I can get further information. It would distress me extremely to give more, and I cannot do it.

I have the honour to send you two letters, which I received this morning from Baroda.

I shall only repeat that you will at all times find me most ready to forward your views and consult the ease and safety of your troops, when the service will permit.

No. 7. *Letter from Kakaji to Colonel Murray, dated Ujjain, 21st August.*

I have received your letter of the 20th. You intimate that I should *Request* think nothing of the conversation we have had. I wish the same ; but, Sir, you must continue fixed in what you say.

You propose sending me half what is due, but my people will not by any means consent to such an arrangement. They are greatly distressed for ready cash. Further there is a loss of 13 per cent. of the Baroda Rupee, for which reason they will not receive it. If you will issue them Ujjain currency, so much the better. However you may give grain in lieu of money, provided there will be no loss to my people by the mode.

On the subject of detaching the cavalry, I have desired Captain Williams to explain to you. From the heavy rains, my tents and rowtis are much damaged. When therefore you send me money, my people will set about repairing them ; after which, they will be ready for any kind of service. You write me that you are not acquainted with respect to our pay. What is the meaning of this ? You had better learn of Captain Williams. By him I send every sort of information. Favour me with an answer directly.

No. 8. *Letter from Colonel Murray to Kakaji, dated Ujjain, 22nd August.*

I have received your letter, and have sincerely to regret that the *Ultimatum* friendly letter, I wrote you the day before yesterday, has not produced the effect I wished.

I told you the utmost extent of what I could do ; and as that has not satisfied you, I can only regret it, but have nothing to add. I request you will favour me with an early communication of your intentions. I trust you received the two letters from Shivram, I sent you this morning by my aide-de-camp, but which he had not an opportunity of delivering in person.

Remark in the Diary.

The following letter was, in consequence written to the Governor-General-in-Council on the 13th instant.

Bombay, 13th September, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 160)

1804

Jonathan Duncan to the Marquis of Wellesley.

We have the honour to forward the copies of a letter from the *G-General informed* commanding officer of the forces of the 12th instant with advices from Colonel Murray, therein referred to, and letters from Kakaji, the commander of the Gaikwad contingent.

To Your Excellency, who are so well aware of the constitution and disposition of native armies and of the circumstances that are calculated to affect them favourably or otherwise in the course of their service with the British troops, it would be quite superfluous for us to intimate any opinion on the very unfortunate discussion alluded to in the concluding para of General Nicolls' letter, the course and cause of which may, we nevertheless hope, be stopped and obviated by our instructions on the 7th instant already transmitted.

1804 *Baroda, 21st September, 1804 (1804, P. D. 71A)*

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

Letter I have the honour to enclose copy of a letter to Captain Williams on forwarding to that officer the extract of the proceedings of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of the 7th instant.

Letter from Alexander Walker to George Williams, dated 18th September.

Expenses I have the honour to enclose for your information and instruction an extract from the proceedings of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council under the date the 7th instant.

The British and Gaikwad Governments have both expressed a desire that the expense of these auxiliary troops should be moderate and, if possible, reduced. The difficulties in the way of this object are numerous and not easily overcome. I need not however urge you to use every practicable exertion to effect it and to make Kakaji comprehend that it would be for his own honour and interest.

There is reason to think that it is not the pay of the troops, but the salaries and establishments of the sardars that are high. The number of darakdars and karkuns may admit of a reduction. It may also be expected to reduce the expense by regulating the payments as much as possible by the actual strength of the forces, which you must take the best means of ascertaining in your power.

I am aware that you will meet with obstructions in any attempt to take regular musters of the Gaikwad troops ; but the same objections cannot be made to this measure in respect to the new levy ; and you will probably be able pretty accurately to judge of the numbers of the rest from your residence amongst them.

The high price of provisions has been assigned as a principal reason for the greater charge of the Gaikwad forces ; and you will be attentive to take advantage of any fall in the price of that article for diminishing their expense. Sitaram, the Diwan, from his desire to pursue measures the most acceptable to the Company's Government has agreed to account with us for the vatan and kasar [*exchange*], which will make a considerable deduction.

After bestowing on these circumstances, (which I have stated generally) a due degree of attention, and having tried every expedient which your situation on the spot will suggest for curtailing superfluous charges, I shall be obliged to you to state the precise monthly expense of the Gaikwad troops. I shall also wish for your report of the extent of the local means or funds which you and Kakaji may be able to provide for their payment, as well as for any information which either of you may be so good as to favour me with, calculated to render this object more secure and easy.

1804 *Bombay, 27th September, 1804 (1803/04, P. D. Let. to C. of Dir. 4)*
Bombay to the Company.

Murray & Kakaji On the 16th of August, the Gaikwad troops consisting of about 3,600 cavalry and 800 foot arrived at Ujjain ; but on the day preceding Colonel Murray had addressed a letter as per copy enclosed to the commanding officer of the forces, charging Kakaji, their commander, with dilatoriness and disobedience, in consequence of which he had ordered Captain Williams (whom in concurrence with the native

Administration at Baroda the Resident there had sent to accompany the contingent in question) leave their camp.

The manner in which Kakaji accounted for the circumstances that had led to these orders will be found in his accompanying letters to Major Walker and to his nephew, Sitaram the Minister at Baroda, under dates the 2nd and 13th August. Kakaji appears to have continued his march, after Captain Williams had left him, to the camp at Ujjain; where, as will appear by a further letter from that commander under date the 20th of August to the Resident at Baroda, uncordial discussions had ensued, accompanied by an expressed indifference on the part of Colonel Murray as to whether the Gaikwad forces should continue with him or return; but, as under all the circumstances of the case the maintenance of cordiality between the British and Gaikwad troops in the field appeared to us, on the grounds generally set forth in the accompanying copy of our President's Minute of the 6th instant, to be extremely desirable, we concurred in giving effect to the several propositions suggested in its 4th paragraph, being such as the nature of the case seemed indispensably to require, desiring at the same time to subjoin our opinion founded on our information up to the present date that nothing in the least degree prejudicial to Colonel Murray should be inferred from the querulous representations made by the Gaikwad commander, whose various delays were certainly sufficient to weary the patience of any officer in the Colonel's situation; which, as it must have always led him to be desirous of such an effective force as has thus at length joined him, he may in truth yet experience the advantages of, under the precautions that have been established for promoting a harmonious co-operation between the two detachments thus intended to act together in the public cause.

Subsequently to the transmission of these orders General Nicolls laid before us, in a letter dated the 12th instant, a report on that subject from Colonel Murray, referring to his separate correspondence with the Gaikwad commander subsequently to his arrival at Ujjain. Of these documents (to the contents of which we are disposed to attach the fullest confidence, as far as they are descriptive of Colonel Murray's wishes to turn the services of the Gaikwad forces to the best account of the public) and of a further letter from that native commander under date the 23rd of August we transmitted (as we had our previous proceedings) copies to Bengal, with notice that it would be superfluous in us to intimate an opinion on the discussions that had thus taken place, further than to express a hope that their recurrence might be obviated by the operation of the instructions issued as above-mentioned.

In addition to the Gaikwad troops, Colonel Murray was joined at Ujjain by a small force under the command of Anandrao Pawar, the Chief-^{Pawar}tain of Dhar and nephew of the Gaikwad Raja, the weight of whose influence as one of the constituent sardars of the Maratha Empire might, it was hoped, render his assistance acceptable and useful.

Ujjain, 5th October, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 161).

John Murray to General Nicolls.

1804

I am concerned to state to you that a very large body of Pindaris ^{Pindaris} have entered the districts to the eastward of Ujjain and have already

seized several posts, where they have established their authority. The proceedings of this body of people are systematic and by no means consistent with the usual mode of carrying on war as practised by troops of this description. I should not probably have thought it necessary to take notice of this occurrence at present if Government had not suffered a very considerable loss by this irruption, and if it was not likely that our losses would prove still more serious.

I had intelligence on the 1st instant that a body of 400 Pindaris had established themselves at Terana, distant about 9 kos from camp, from which place they had driven a small body in the pay of Jaswantrao Sivji. On the 2nd they appeared within a kos and a half of camp and drove off a number of public and private cattle. The Hon'ble Company's troops of cavalry and a body of the silahdars pursued them in vain to Terana, which town they surprised, but the plunder had been taken to another place.

Several bodies of Pindaris appeared again on the 3rd, but were robbed of their booty by a detachment of the silahdar horse under the command of Captain Campbell.

*Kakaji's
refusal*

As, Sir, from the want of forage I am compelled to send the cattle a considerable distance to graze, and as I found the Pindaris increasing in every direction, I requested Captain Williams to inform Kakaji that I wished 500 cavalry might be sent from his camp, which is about 8 miles in our rear, to remain with the British army. He complied for one day in some degree with my request, but positively refused to allow them to remain during the night, which was of the less consequence, as he sent only about 150 men instead of 500. As I found that he positively refused to detach this body of cavalry which I so much wanted, I directed Captain Williams to request that he would encamp with the British army, with which on false and frivolous pretences he has positively refused compliance. Kakaji's movement to his present ground was likewise in direct contradiction to my orders.

I have thought it necessary to lay this conduct of the Gaikwad sardar before you, Sir, that, in conjunction with what has already passed, the Government may be apprised of the service to be expected from this contingent from the Gaikwad army, and that the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council may not suppose that I am furnished with an efficient and serviceable body of cavalry. I am now thoroughly acquainted with the character of their commanding officer; and whilst he continues in his present situation, there is not the most distant prospect that the troops will be of service. Captain Williams makes serious complaints of Amin Saheb, jamadar, and I strongly recommend that he should be ordered from the army.

1804 Baroda, 6th October, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M. 71A)

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

*Kakaji's
complaints* Having been favoured by Colonel Murray with the perusal of his report to General Nicolls on some recent demands of the Gaikwad troops, I have the honour to enclose for the further information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council copies of letters from Raghunath Mahipatrao Kakaji to his Government and to me on the same subject.

These letters are numbered according to their dates, and I have added my last communication to Kakaji.

The object of some of these demands is no doubt censurable, but it is the custom of these men to urge every claim with violence ; and it is their maxim to require much more than they have any title to, because, the justice or injustice of the case being out of the question, they never receive more from their own Government than half of what they ask. They have no right to expect more from the Company than their pay ; and for everything else, which may be sanctioned by their peculiar usages, I would recommend that they should be referred to their own Government.

Among the present requests some are however of a nature which I conceive to deserve consideration. The dearth of provisions is certainly very great, and the Gaikwad troops are entirely destitute of supplies. Their Government has neither exertion, funds, nor means of any sort to provide magazines and stores.

It is not to be expected that the Company would go to a great expense on this account ; but it would be proper to afford them any practicable degree of assistance in our power towards relieving their distresses, which Kakaji states would be alleviated if they could purchase rice at 6 seers for a Rupee. I am however apprehensive that the stock of provisions with the army is small and perhaps no more than adequate to the extensive demands of the service. I am also apprehensive that the plan of supplying these troops with powder and shot from Baroda or Broach would not answer the purpose, unless we should provide carriage ; which would amount to the same thing as furnishing those articles at Ujjain.

It will at any rate be prudent to proportion the supplies of ammunition to the Gaikwad forces to the state of our stores in the field ; and Captain Williams may be directed to ascertain the extent of their wants in this article (as well as the means of conveying it) of which in the course of the services in Gujarat I have generally found them economical.

No. 1. Letter from Raghunath Mahiputrao Kakaji to Major Walker, dated Camp distant from Ujjain 3 kos, 3rd September, 1804.

I had experienced considerable uneasiness in not having received a letter from you till the 21st instant, when I was greatly gratified by the receipt of your two letters to me of the 19th ; and this was, if possible, heightened by a perusal and consequent knowledge of their respective contents, treating on the propriety of my not only continuing with the Colonel, but on acting in conformity to his wishes, a conduct that by ensuring his protection would at once, not only remove the source of fear and apprehension in every respect, but which would also tend to the advancement of my character and credit. *Kakaji's pleading*

The letter, accompanying these, for Colonel Murray I sent him to Indore ; and on the receipt of a former letter you may have written him, he had before paid us in full for one month ; the subject of which Captain Williams may have written you. Indeed hereafter in this I do not think any difficulties will ensue, at least none but what will be easily removed.

Captain Williams is an excellent and well adapted person for the duties of a mediator indeed, to whom only I have ever had recourse, though I have no fears, Sir, to allay, while under the assurance of your favour and as further aided by the Hon'ble Company (I look on my enemies as easily cut down as grass), whose benevolence extends as well to the little as the big, before whom Holkar was never meant to stand in the field, nor to govern in the cabinet, and that this, Sir, may prove true, is my constant prayer to God. Other particulars Sitaram Bawa will lay before you. Kakaji assumes the pen. Numberless were my troubles for eight days after my arrival. My return was the subject. At last my reply to this was that I should remain to share the Company's fortune, good or bad fortune, until I had an answer from the Hon'ble the Governor and Major Walker, by whom I had been sent. At the expiration however of eight days I was invited by the Colonel, though ignorant of the cause, to accompany him to Indore. We found Indore deserted and wasted, and it had been plundered by Holkar's kamavisdar previous to our arrival. Grain was not to be had. It was also authentically stated that Jivaji Jaswant and the Pindaris meant to visit this place (Ujjain), when the Colonel directed me to return, and encamp near Colonel Holme, where he also would shortly join; in conformity to which I acted. Holkar is at present strong, but like the flower, that but flourishes in the rain, will he fall.

Anandrao Pawar, as you wrote, came here, incurring by his troops great expense. The Colonel plainly told him to return without having him at his tent for that purpose; on which Pawar, leaving all behind, set out accordingly. The subject of which, on coming to the knowledge of the world, is very bad, and in respect to which, on Sitaram's further communication to you, let a memorandum be made and sent by you, Sir, who have the interests of both at heart. Hitherto I have given Pawar from the parekhs to the amount of 2,000 Rupees. I would request, Sir, your constant communications to the Colonel and Captain Williams for my future protection.

Beyond Jetpur and near Rampur an action has taken place, I am informed, and that Jaswantrao and Harnath are wounded. Shortly indeed will the favour of God to the Hon'ble Company crush that person. Let your communications be frequent. What more can I say?

No. 2. Letter from Raghunath Mahipatrao Kakaji to Major Walker, dated Camp near Ujjain, 6th September, 1940.

News

I have received no letter from you since that dated 20th Jamadi-al-awal; which has given me considerable uneasiness. Colonel Murray yesterday reached this from Indore and joined us. Captain Williams however wishes we should be at some distance as the surest way to prevent any disputes between our people. We shall therefore look for some good place and there encamp.

The rains have been heavy and the roads rendered very bad, as the soil here is black. The whole sarkar's stores, are ruined and rotten, the rowtis we made new and brought with us from Godhra, have suffered in common.

The news of our enemies differs little from what I have before detailed to you: that Harnath had received some wounds, and that

Holkar himself had received a dirk or small knife-wound, and that he had also lost some guns.

Kakaji concludes this epistle in requesting some arrangement for Pawar, and that the account of Ahmadabad may be settled, and the darakdars permitted to return; he acknowledges also the receipt of a letter from Babaji, who, he says, observes to him that he very seldom hears from Sitaram, although perfectly ignorant of the cause.

No. 3. Letter from Raghunath Mahipatrao Kakaji to Sitaram Bawa and Sakharam Diwanji, dated Ujjain, 19th September, 1804)

I am now residing in this town after having escaped with some *Misfortune* difficulty from the scene of destruction in our camp, a scene not to be described on paper; we have lost many men and cattle. This city has sustained much loss; 1,500 or 2,000 houses have been reduced to the ground, and many lives consequently lost. Colonel Murray, if possible, has suffered more than we. This dreadful catastrophe was foretold by a Brahman, and who has further prophesied that in the month of Aswin (October) rivers of blood will flow; this however only God knows.

Holkar has reached Agra; it is said that he is marching for Lucknow, where the Company's troops are embodying, and I should think there is little room for apprehension. The whole of our powder has been diluted like water. The native troops of the British army have suffered much; they have lost also 2,000 bullocks drowned and 60 or 70 horses. An escort with 2,000 pack bullocks in charge from Baroda, were overtaken at Nawla on the river Chambal and have sustained great damage. Kakaji exhorts Sitaram in his own hand writing to effect some arrangement for Pawar in concert with Major Walker.

No. 4. Letter from Raghunath Mahipatrao Kakaji to Sitaram Bawa, dated near Ujjain, 27th September, 1804.

Your letters of this 29th Jamadi-al-awal and the 9th Jamadi-al-*Hardships* akhir I received on 10th, and on a perusal became acquainted with their contents. Thus to hear of the probability of a plentiful crop from a most favourable season, I need not say, has afforded me considerable satisfaction, but in regard to the effect of the rains here I have before addressed you.

On the 19th we left the town, and took ground up on our old encampment. To-day Amin, Raja Pandhre, with Mir Sahab's people and others will join us here, when I will look for some better situation at the distance of a kos or a kos and a half, and there encamp. Bawa Sahab (Sitaram), the people are put to the greatest difficulties in these scarce times. The Major however thinks their pay already is great. The people, on the strength of the promises made them, are clamorous in the present scarcity for an addition of pay, a circumstance Captain Williams has an opportunity of daily observing. Exclusive of this, also the losses and difficulties, both men and horse have sustained, would render their meeting even with you difficult. The Colonel has given us however some pay; and when he gives the remainder, we shall endeavour to do as well as we can under such circumstances. The people individually have been put to an expense of one day's pay in refitting themselves in palls [*pulas* ? fodder] and pendas [*grass*].

Bawa Saheb, it would appear that the Major is unfavourable to the arrangement regarding Pawar. Convinced however that he will ruin me, I have advanced them in the meantime 25,000 Rupees, and their pay of course in going on. Grain is at present at $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 seers, therefore let Pawar's arrangements be made. If the Major does not do this, who is to do it? or whom else am I to ask? Entrust him therefore to perform this.

The Colonel is still in the town. From Baroda pack bullocks with 1 gun and two or three hundred sepoy were overtaken at Nawla in the rain. This party sustained some loss, but on the 20th reached this. Holkar has crossed the Jamna. You write me that the troops from Poona under Juchoorka were to join us, an addition that will make the Colonel's forces more respectable (in respect to strength) and consequently render Holkar's present force less mighty.

I was much pleased to hear of the settlement with Bhavnagar; acquaint me however with the particulars. You have done well in sending the firmans (commission) to Poona. From the Major's assurances to me of a settlement of the Ahmadabad account, I have no fears.

Kakaji here assumes the pen: Pawar left his people here. I have desired them to go, but they will not. Pawar writes frequently that he cannot return, but to preserve his credit; that he is young, and to act towards him as the late Raoba was wont to do. What can I do? The pay of 500 sowars is Rupees 22,500 and of a thousand sowars Rupees 45,000; and these people argue here, and point out the greater necessity for an arrangement. What more need I say?

No. 5. Letter from Alexander Walker to Kakaji, dated 29th September.

Advice I have had the pleasure of your letters, and have fully understood what you have written. Your respectable relation, Sitaram Raoji, has written you respecting the payment of your troops, and you are in possession of my sentiments on the subject by the verbal communication of Captain Williams. On this head you need feel no uneasiness in everything that is just and necessary; but it is the business of a commander to prevent unnecessary charges and to repress by severe examples the clamours of his army. It is by this wholesome discipline that soldiers perform their duty and learn to respect their sardars.

With regard to Pawar, much is to be said. By my advice that respectable person took the field and joined the Company's forces. After this step he followed no longer my counsel, but injudiciously made an extravagant demand for money, as if that was the only reward he sought for his service. My views extended to a higher reward, the favour of the Peshwa and of the English Government. Pawar ought to have confided in the generosity of the Company, and he ought to have been certain that, while acting with their army, he would not have suffered distress. His departure from Colonel Murray's army has put it out of my power to assist him, and I cannot be answerable for any advances which the parekhs have made for the support of his people. It is therefore my advice to you to discontinue any further payment of that nature and to dismiss Pawar's horse, unless Colonel Murray should be willing to keep them, as he must be the best judge whether their services are required or not.

Your losses by the storm have been great ; but instead of lamenting misfortune, we should only think of repairing them. I have always been accustomed to speak truth to your family, which is a disagreeable duty, but necessary to your welfare. Your differences with Colonel Murray have given me great uneasiness as well as all your friends here. It is impossible that things can prosper when the chiefs are of different minds, and when their hearts are not cordially united. It is absolutely necessary that in government and in the command of armies the power of directing should be lodged in the hands of one man. You have too much good sense not to understand this. Wherefore then do you act contrary to Colonel Murray's will ? In all matters you should show a ready obedience and a desire to meet his wishes. By this unanimity your enemies would disappear, and you would gain reputation and honour. I recommend also to you on all occasions to follow the advice of Captain Williams, who is as much your friend as he is mine, and who will never suggest anything that is not for your advantage. The English manners and customs are only partly known to you ; and as they are contrary to yours, they will appear at first troublesome ; yet, on a better acquaintance with them, you will find them salutary and good. I shall be happy to assist the settlement of your affairs at Ahmadabad, and I request you will desire Vakatchand or any other person acquainted with them to explain the account.

Baroda, 7th October, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M. 71A)
Alexander Walker to James Grant.

1804

I request you will be pleased to inform the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that it has for some time been a principal object of my exertions to prevail on this Administration to appoint Sakharam Chimnaji (commonly called Diwanji), the Diwan's brother, to the command of the Gaikwad forces serving with the British army, in the room of Raghunath Mahipatrao Kakaji. The Administration was not disposed to defend all the ill-judged measures of Kakaji, and they particularly saw with great uneasiness that there was no likelihood of a good understanding between Colonel Murray and that officer. While however the propriety of appointing another commander was admitted, the thing was very difficult to accomplish, as it was necessary to reconcile the opposite public and private feelings, which were blended and involved in the measure.

Sitaram's offer

As the Diwanji is of a weak constitution, the female part of the Diwan's family and particularly his mother were extremely averse that the former should be sent into the field. The young man himself was secretly in favour of the measure and suggested several expedients for effecting it.

On the other hand Sitaram requested as a particular favour that I would not insist on sending his brother, since it would create such dissensions in the family as he could not appease, and which would destroy his own peace and tranquillity. Sitaram also observed that this supersession would offend Babaji as well as Kakaji, who had the same interests, and be productive of the most disagreeable, if not dangerous, consequences.

In this kind of dilemma it was proposed to withdraw Kakaji and to leave the command in the hands of an inferior officer. But among other peculiarities of this service it was found that the principal sardars would not serve, unless commanded by a person of a certain rank ; and that the greatest part of the army would be in danger of disbanding or, which was more to be deprecated, of returning with Kakaji into Gujarat. It was also necessary to be well assured of the fidelity and capacity of the person, who should be entrusted with a charge of so much importance.

Having weighed all these circumstances, Sitaram in a very handsome and determined manner declared his resolution, if I would consent to it, of assuming the command of the Gaikwad troops himself. In intimating to me this resolution the Diwan observed that he saw no other expedient for obviating every objection, and so likely to promote the service by rendering the troops of his State useful ; that neither Babaji nor Kakaji could well complain of a person in his station taking the command ; and he doubted not but he should be able to put an end to the present clamours and discontents of the army. Sitaram accompanied this proposal by the most ardent professions of a heartfelt devotion to the cause of the Company, and remarked that it was no less his inclination than he felt it to be his true interest to support with his life and all his means the measures of the British Government. The security of the Gaikwad family, and particularly the existence of his own were inseparately connected, he said, with the prosperity of the Company ; and therefore it behoved him on an occasion like the present to omit no exertion, which could contribute to the success of the war.

I could not help applauding these sentiments of the Diwan ; and after maturely considering everything I have acquiesced in his proposition to assume the command of the Gaikwad troops. During his absence the Administration will be carried on by his brother, the Diwanji, and I trust that no inconvenience will arise from this temporary delegation of authority.

Sitaram will not be able to leave this before the Dasara, which is on the 13th ; but I am persuaded that he will lose as little time as possible in joining the forces at Ujjain ; and I would urgently recommend that he may be treated with that distinction and honour which is due to his rank and his unquestionable zeal for the service.

1804 *Baroda, 7th October, 1804 (1804, 9. D. 71A)*

Alexander Walker to Colonel Murray.

*Sitaram in
command*

I have much pleasure in acquainting you that the Diwan has very handsomely proposed to assume himself the command of the Gaikwad forces, and will for that purpose take his departure from hence after the Dasara which is on the 13th. This measure will, I hope, obviate any further difficulties with regard to these troops ; but I would recommend that the communication of it to Kakaji should be left to his own Government, and that everything should be allowed to proceed in the usual routine until the arrival of Sitaram. In case this person should express a desire to be allowed an honorary guard, it is my intention to apply to Lieutenant-Colonel Grummont for one to accompany him as far as Dohad, under an idea that you will have the goodness to

acquiesce in directing the guard to be relieved by the corps stationed there.

Bombay, 14th October, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 161)

1804

General Nicolls to Jonathan Duncan.

I have the honour to forward a copy of a letter yesterday received from Colonel Murray relative to the Gaikwad troops under his command, and containing several points upon which he hopes to receive the orders of Government. *Letter*

No. 1. Letter from John Murray to Oliver Nicolls, dated camp near Sipri, 22nd September.

I have the honour to lay before you further demands on the part of Mahipatrao¹, which I conceive to be unreasonable, and shall not agree to, till I receive the orders of Government on the subject. *Kakaji's demands*

With respect to his first demand that of an indemnification on account of the price of grain and a delivery of six seers for a Rupee, I beg leave to observe that the expense would be incalculable, and every species of fraud might be practised without the possibility of detection. I by no means believe that there have been, since the Gaikwad troops joined this army, the number of horses fit for service, which there ought to have been. But I have been unable to ascertain the deficiency or value of the horses, as the commanding officer of these troops objected to his troops being mustered or valued. It is not for me to decide on what indemnification it may please the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council to give for the losses these troops have sustained, or if any shall be given; but I must fear no fair or equitable remuneration will be satisfactory, and I make no doubt claims will be preferred for what they ought to have had, rather than for what has been actually lost.

I propose, if I can spare it, to supply the ammunition required for this time; but I beg leave to observe that, unless I shall be expressly ordered to furnish ammunition, I shall decline it in future. There will be (if supplied at the expense of the British Government) no end of the demands; and when the distance from which we bring military stores is considered with the consequent risk and expense, I am certain, Sir, you will see the necessity of its being preserved with the utmost care. I further conceive that troops so highly paid should be equipped at their own expense. But, should Government decide that we are to supply the ammunition required, I beg to deliver it at Broach or Baroda. I wish to avoid increasing the stores to be transported at the Hon'ble Company's expense and more particularly stores which, I am confident, will never be applied to a good purpose.

I have had the honour of stating my sentiments respecting the Dhar Raja [*Anandrao Pawar*] so fully that I conceive nothing further is necessary to be said on that subject. Kakaji has taken upon himself, in direct opposition to my communications to him, to detain them. They have been of no earthly service whatever, and I fully explained to Kakaji and the Dhar Raja that no expense would be authorised on account of those troops. I offered to engage them under an officer to be appointed by the Raja as silahdar horse, but, I believe, persuaded

¹ See the next document : *Letter from Mahipatrao to Captain Williams.*

by the Gaikwad officers to insist on his exorbitant demands and from some motives of etiquette, this proposal was declined.

The question concerning the exchange of the Rupee is before the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council. The Gaikwad troops suffer in common with the British army from this gross imposition.

What he demanded on account of the sarkar paga and artillery, I conceive most unseasonable. Captain Williams informs me that he requires 10,000 Rupees monthly on this account. I conclude the demands for presents in the concluding parts of this memorandum require no account.

Upon the whole, Sir, it appears to me that there will be no end to the demands of the Gaikwad sardars, and these have been pressed with so much vehemence that Captain Williams was obliged to request Amin Saheb, jamadar, not only to withdraw from the consultation but from the army. I conceive it therefore my duty to state it as my opinion that in general these claims ought to be rejected, as there is not the most distant hope that, in consequence of a compliance, a favourable alteration in their conduct might take place. Mahipatrao and his officers consider the British treasury as a source from which they are at liberty to draw and consume in idleness whatever they may think proper. It is necessary to acquaint you that those troops have in the last three months received upwards of eight lakhs of Rupees, and on the arrival of Captain Dun they will receive one lakh and twenty thousand more. In all nearly ten lakhs of Rupees.

No. 2. Letter from aghunath Mahipatrao (Kakaji) to Captain Williams, dated 22nd September.

Complaints

I spoke to you two days ago respecting the payment of my people. Have you yet had any communication with Colonel Murray on the subject, as I would wish to know for the information of my people, who press for its decision? All the jamadars and people are waiting at my tent. This importunity you will be able to judge of on visiting me. What I am now about to represent to you, I beg you will not fail to explain most particularly to Colonel Murray. The cause of the people's distress you are acquainted with, and I trust your exertions will not be wanting in contributing as much as possible to its removal.

Grain has become extremely dear. I told my sardars and people that they should receive six seers for the Rupee, which they were not dissatisfied at; and where it exceeded that price, their pay should be increased. The price of grain is advanced now so high as two and three seers only for the Rupee. It is therefore necessary that means should be taken to reduce the rate of grain, until that can be effected, may I request a mody may be appointed to deliver it to my camp at six seers a Rupee; which shall be punctually paid? For these last months grain has been very exorbitant in its price, which may be easily testified by examining the grain merchants' books.

The rain has been excessively violent, and the distress it has occasioned is not less remarkable. My camp evinced its effect by the destruction of tents and the number of dead cattle, which lay scattered in every part of it. In taking this into consideration my request to be paid for the loss will not, I hope, appear unreasonable, as previous to my quitting the town everything must be replaced.

The guns and ammunition are all damaged, which it will be necessary to repair.

Anandrao Pawar and the whole of his camp are here. Till this time I have defrayed their expenses, for which I have received no assistance. I must therefore beg to be reimbursed for the expense I have incurred on that account; 25,000 Rupees for this purpose I now apply for. Colonel Murray said that Anandrao Pawar and his people might be sent away; but the Major desired they might be retained with my camp, and who has written to me that you and Colonel Murray would settle for the amount of the expenses.

The exchange between the Baroda and Ujjain Rupee is fifteen per cent., the difference of which I have made good to my people in the discharge of two months' payments, which I request to be repaid for.

The Government horse and artillery park are estimated at 10,000 Rupees per month; but, as the expenses far exceed that sum, it should be increased.

On the approaching Divali the people expect a present of new clothes, for which it is hoped that some provision will be assigned.

This being the shroddh (or day of commemoration of deceased friends), a present is expected.

Remark in the Diary.

The commanding officer of the forces is to be requested to refer Colonel Murray on the subject of the letter from him, which is above recorded, to our instructions of the 7th of September, which exempt him from any other trouble in respect to the Gaikwad contingent than commanding their services, wherever they may be most usefully employed, except that, with regard to supplying them with ammunition, Government desire that the Colonel direct their indents, countersigned by Captain Williams, to be complied with, with due attention to the general stock in camp; the amount of which supplies is to be carried to their debit in the monthly account of the expenditure of stores, transmitted to the Presidency.

*Orders to
Murray*

The Resident at Baroda is to be advised of the instructions thus issued, and directed to order Captain Williams to be careful to regulate his countersignature of any indent that may be presented to him by a full conviction of its necessity and utility in view to the public service, taking care also to inform himself previously from Colonel Murray whether the articles wanted can be spared, to the end that no indent may be actually presented to be afterwards refused, but reporting through Major Walker in each case when the article wanted cannot be supplied.

Major Walker is to report whether, according to the terms on which these Gaikwad troops have marched, they be liable to supply their own ammunition out of the pay assigned them, taking care in that case to instruct Captain Williams to deduct the amount of such supply from his monthly advances to them accordingly; and with respect to the other points, adverted to in Kakaji's memorandum to Captain Williams, we must leave them to be adjusted between the Resident and Sitaram, the Diwan, to the best advantage for the public service; in which we feel persuaded that Major Walker will pay the utmost practicable attention to the requisites of desirable and necessary economy.

1804 *Bombay, 23rd October, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 161)*

Oliver Nicolls to Jonathan Duncan.

Troops useless I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of a letter yesterday received from Colonel Murray relative to the Gaikwad contingent. It gives me great concern to see so inefficient and untractable a body of troops maintained by the Hon'ble Company at an expense so considerable, and for which they have not yet shown the smallest intention of returning their services in any degree.

1804 *Bombay, 24th October, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 161)*

Minute in Council.

Bombay anxious Ordered that a copy of the above letters be sent to the Resident at Baroda, the Secretary expressing our deep regret at the intelligence contained therein, and our surprise that Captain Williams should not have reported to Major Walker the several instances of disobedience of orders with which Kakaji is therein specifically charged, this silence disabling us from forming a definitive opinion on the nature of the refractoriness, which, according to the representation now made, continues to be maintained ; but Captain Williams must still be called on to state the circumstances under which Kakaji may have presumed thus directly and openly to resist the authority under which he is placed.

Meanwhile it will be sufficient to advise General Nicolls to inform Colonel Murray that Sitaram, the Diwan of the Gaikwad State, is, with a view of obviating the causes of complaint against Kakaji, proceeding himself to assume the command of the contingent ; whence it may be hoped that better experience of its subordination and efficiency will ensue.

1804 *Bombay, 25th October, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 161)*

Bombay orders.

Sitaram's escort Sitaram, the Diwan of the Gaikwad State, being about to take the field to assume the command of the Gaikwad contingent, and it being desirable that he should be attended by a guard of honour of the Company's troops, the Governor reports that he had concerted with Lieutenant-Colonel Lechmere to detach a detail of 60 rank and file from the Fencibles' Regiment to proceed to the northward for this purpose under the command of Lieutenant Hughes, the present acting adjutant of the corps, who as commanding such a honorary guard is to draw the batta of the superior rank whilst the Diwan may continue in the field.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lechmere is to be requested to have the guard in readiness to proceed with General Jones, who will be pleased to transfer them to the Resident at Baroda on his arrival there, who will deliver them over to the Diwan.

1804 *Bombay, 26th October, 1804 (1804 S. & P. D. 161)*

James Grant to Major-General Jones, proceeding in the field in Malwa and in the province of Gujarat.

Dealing with troops The force now with Colonel Murray is accompanied by a body of native cavalry and some country infantry from the Gaikwad Government as furnished in pursuance of the mention to that effect in the Hon'ble General Wellesley's letter of the 7th of May. The difficulties

under which Major Walker, the Resident at Baroda, was able to induce the march of this Gaikwad contingent, you will find fully stated in the accompanying copy of his report of the 20th of July ; which, with the regulations since passed by this Government under date the 7th ultimo for leaving the payment of this native force to be provided for between the Resident at Baroda and the Ministry of that State, and for constituting Captain Williams their agent with the force in question and the channel of communication between it and the British Officer in command, will make you fully acquainted with the nature of the intercourse, which you are to observe towards it with a view of rendering this body of allies as serviceable as their indisciplined and irregular habits may admit of. In further promotion of which object Major Walker has lately induced Sitaram, the Diwan of the Gaikwad State, to promise to proceed himself to assume the command in supersession of his uncle, Mahipatrao, otherwise called Kakaji, between whom and Colonel Murray various unpleasant discussions have ensued, such as it is earnestly recommended to you to use every endeavour to avoid either with him or with his proposed successor, the experience of the past being sufficient to show that, however provoking or unreasonable may be the conduct of such native leaders and of the tumultuary armed retainers composing their troops, a better chance may probably be afforded of drawing advantage from their presence by accommodating with, and yielding as far as possible to, their prejudices than by any stricter line of conduct such as would operate beneficially on regular troops.

There being reason to suppose that Colonel Murray is now engaged in a negotiation with Shah Ahmed Khan, one of Holkar's sardars, for the latter's withdrawing himself from that Chieftain, it may be proper here to notice that this discussion is founded on a promise made by the Gaikwad Government to pay to the said Shah Ahmed Khan the sum of 50,000 Rupees as the consideration for his release of one of the family of that Principality ; a condition that, on their failing to perform, the Resident at Baroda represented the honour of the Company's Government still interested to see accomplished ; which having been accordingly sanctioned by the Hon'ble Major-General Wellesley in the manner specified in his accompanying letter of the 2nd of June to the Governor, some intercourse ensued in consequence between Shah Ahmed Khan and Major Walker, who, having referred the sequel and completion thereof to Colonel Murray, you will learn on your arrival at Baroda and on meeting your predecessor whether any and what further progress has been made in this desirable object ; respecting the accomplishment of which you will of course be guided by the terms of the letter above referred to from the Hon'ble Major-General Wellesley, as further authorised in the accompanying copy of one bearing reference to it from the Secretary of the Supreme Government to Colonel Murray, dated the 7th of September.

*Bombay, 28th October, 1804 (1803/04, P. D. Let. to C. of Dir 4)
Bombay to the Company.*

1804

As connected with the subject of our advices to your Committee of the 27th ultimo, in which we adverted to the dissensions that had taken place between the commanding officer of the British troops in

*Sitaram
in command*

Malwa and the commander of the Gaikwad contingent appointed to co-operate with the British troops, we have the honour to forward the copy of a dispatch from the Resident at Baroda under date the 7th instant, whence it will appear that the Minister of the Gaikwad State has, with the view of promoting by every possible means the efficiency of the Gaikwad contingent, determined to take the field in person for the purpose of assuming the command, a measure which satisfactorily manifests the disposition of the Gaikwad Administration to render its co-operation as effectual as possible for the purposes of the war.

1804 *Baroda, 1st November, 1804 (1804 P. D. 71A)*

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

Baroda troops In answer to your dispatch of the 24th ultimo I have the honour to forward the copy of a letter from Captain Williams with its enclosures. This communication would have been made sooner, had it not been for an accident that happened to one of Kakaji's kasids, who was entrusted with it; but, as the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council has expressed so much anxiety on this subject, I shall refer it to Captain Williams for such additional information as he may be able to afford.

I have also enclosed the translation of a letter from Kakaji and of extracts of another from the same person to Sitaram, which bears reference to these events.

No. 1. Letter from Captain Williams to Major Walker, dated Camp near Ujjain, 6th October, 1804.

Kakaji hopeless I have the honour of enclosing you copies of my correspondence with Colonel Murray from the 2nd of the 5th instant. Immediately after dispatching my letter of the 5th I waited upon the Colonel, and after some conversation he told me it was impossible for him to put up with the repeated disobedience of the Gaikwad troops; that therefore he should report their conduct to Government and would have nothing further to say to them until he received an answer to his representation. I told the Colonel it was impossible to make Kakaji attach any importance to a duty, of which he did not see the necessity himself; and in this light he considered the incursion of the Pindaris, as also the place of encampment while at a distance from the enemy, and instanced the readiness with which they marched into the Indore pargana, which he saw it was of consequence, as some opposition was expected.

On my return to the Gaikwad camp, I made known the conversation to Kakaji. He appeared to lament that he was so unfortunate as not to give satisfaction, adding that he still hopes we should fall in with an enemy, when he would convince the Colonel of the utility of his troops and attachment to the service and Company.

No. 2. Letter from Captain Bute to Captain Williams, dated Camp near Ujjain, 2nd October, 1804

Orders I am directed by Colonel Murray to inform you that he has intelligence of a considerable body of Pindaris having approached much nearer than he could have wished; and he requests that you will wait on Kakaji to acquaint him with the circumstance, informing him at the same time the Colonel deems it necessary that five hundred of the

Gaikwad cavalry should encamp on the left of the British lines, and he accordingly desires that number may be sent to this camp to-morrow morning as early as possible.

No. 3. Letter from Captain Williams to Captain Bute, dated Camp near Ujjain, 2nd October, 1804.

I have just received your letter of this date and have acquainted Kakaji that a considerable body of Pindaris have approached much nearer than Colonel Murray could have wished. Who in consequence requests of me to inform the Colonel that he will send five hundred of the Gaikwad cavalry to encamp on the left of the British line early to-morrow morning agreeable to his directions. Orders obeyed

No. 4. Letter from George Williams to Captain Bute, without date.

The bearer, jamadar Sind Buckasa, proceeds in command of the party of the Gaikwad cavalry. Kakaji says they will be relieved by an equal number to-morrow morning, which he hopes will be equally agreeable to the Colonel with their encamping there. Troops

No. 5. Letter from John Murray to Captain Williams, dated Camp near Ujjain, 4th October, 1804.

Captain Bute at my desire requested you on the 2nd instant to apply to Kakaji for 500 cavalry to encamp with the British troops. A body of cavalry by no means of that strength came to camp yesterday morning about 11 o'clock and left it before 5. This day there are none. You will please to inform me whether these men were withdrawn by Kakaji's orders or not, and likewise acquaint me whether it is his intention to comply with my directions respecting the 500 men. Ultimatum

You will inform Kakaji that it is of no use whatever to send men as those last who have been sent; and if he should object to send five hundred men from his camp, you will please to acquaint him that it is necessary he should with the least possible delay pass the river and encamp on the left of the British army. I request an answer be sent as soon as possible.

No. 6. Letter from John Murray to George Williams, dated Camp near Ujjain, 4th October, 1804.

You will be pleased to acquaint Kakaji that I have accounts of a large body of Pindaris being on their march to Harrah, if not to attempt to surprise one of the encampments. I have to desire that without loss of time (as it appears you have not yet communicated my desire that he should encamp on this side of the river), you will wait upon Kakaji and inform him of my wishes in that respect. It will be necessary that the Gaikwad troops should be very alert. Orders

No. 7. Letter from George Williams to John Murray, dated Camp near Ujjain, 5th October, 1804, 7 a.m.

I had the honour of receiving your note of yesterday's date soon after my return here last night, and yours of 4 P.M. this morning. Kakaji objects

I had informed Kakaji of the contents of your former note, who gave me for answer that he could not detach five hundred men to remain

from his camp during the night, and he particularly objected to encamp on the left of our line. His reasons to me are that the ground is not sufficiently extensive to admit him to be at a proper distance from the British camp to prevent disputes between both corps. He also mentioned the great scarcity of forage on that side of the river, and also the unwholesomeness of that situation. When I made known to him the contents of your last note, he made the same objections to encamping, but said he was ready to march with our troops at all times.

As he would not consent to his five hundred men remaining in the British camp during the night, I told him that I did imagine, from what you told me yesterday, that they would be of no sort of use and recommended his not sending them at all.

No. 8. Letter from Raghunath Mahipatrao Kakaji to Major Walker, dated 16th October.

Your letter of the 24th ultimo I received on the 7th Rajab. Having *Complaints* read and understood it, I have to return in answer the following matter to the various subjects of your epistle.

That the Government of Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur and that of the Hon'ble Company are as one ; and as a mediator I doubt not but that you are well inclined towards my welfare, whose actions are alone guided by your wishes. Whatever I may require of the Colonel, Captain Williams is my channel of communication.

The only meeting I have had with Colonel Murray was on my first arrival ; and on the subject of the Colonel's visit to me at Indore, I have before wrote you. Captain Williams has no doubt acquainted you that I look on him as your representative, treat him as such, and act in every respect to his desire accordingly. Thus then, Sir, am I influenced and guided ; yet the nature of Colonel Murray's disapprobation surprises me much. Has he yet found me desert his cause or the field of battle ? If he has, then indeed he may have had cause of complaint. My people's dissatisfaction and their wants only are made known to Captain Williams ; yet, if he has still cause of displeasure, it is, I conceive, unavoidable on my part ; let it merit however your mature consideration, and I have no apprehensions.

I cannot say more on the subject of your intentions respecting a reduction of our allowances than what I have already done in all my letters heretofore. My people's only misconduct is but a demand for the performance of the agreements entered into with them ; but, should they in aught else err, let them then be punished as the nature of their misdemeanor might merit.

I would recommend however, Sir, your speedy consideration of these circumstances whereby to remove the cause of difficulty and restore the people more to obedience and their duty. In conformity to your wishes I have sent off Pawar's detachment, but it yet remains to do me credit with the Parekhs, who press me for the money I borrowed to advance to these people.

You observe that the grand army had advanced towards Holkar. This we have here learned, and though hitherto small detachments of the English army have in some instances been unsuccessful, it has been

of little advantage to Holkar. The fort of Agra is still in the hands of the British troops.

He further learns that General Wellesley with other sardars and the grand army are at, or in the neighbourhood of, Lucknow and Kajepur; that there has been an engagement in which a campoo of Holkar has been cut up. Let me say that this has given great pleasure, and the purpose of my daily prayers is that God will one day or other prove the success of the British troops by the downfall of this Chieftain.

You write me to furnish a statement of our losses in the late tempestuous weather. This, Sir, would take up a great deal of time and paper, and without most probably proving satisfactory to you; rather then let me require your instructions to Captain Williams on this head, who by a strict local inquiry into the nature of the people's losses may be enabled to transmit you a just memorandum of such persons as in his opinion may be entitled to a gratuity.

Remark in the Diary.

Kakaji here assumes the pen, and with a view most probably of giving weight to the purport of his epistle repeats word for word each circumstance as above detailed with this exception only, that he is dissatisfied with the disposal and appropriation of the revenue of Dehgam for the disbursement of the siladhars' accounts, as a district that had been made over to him by his late deceased uncle, Raoba Bawa, from which to reimburse himself for the additional expenses of his management, now amounting to a sum of Rupees 3,25,000. He further observes that he has written to Vakhatchand Seth in regard to the accounts, who will be enabled thereby to give any information that may be required; that hitherto he has been happy, feeling no cause of apprehension on these affairs from the assurance that was given him when at Baroda, and is requesting a speedy answer to each particular of his, epistle concludes with observing: What more can he say?

No. 9. Letter from Kakaji to Sitaram Baba and Sakharam Diwanji, of the same date.

In consequence of some apprehension from the Pindaris, who had attacked the people going out to forage, 500 of our sowars were been sent out on that duty; but, as it was their intention to keep them out night and day, I made a representation through Captain Williams. *Explanations*

In consequence I was told they were not required. You observe that from my being guided by Haribhai is the cause of the Colonel's displeasure. This cannot be the case; for I really hear him not, and for one month he has been ill with a fever. On the festival of the Dasara I have made presents to the amount of Rupees 15,000.

We are two and half kos from the English camp. Grain I find is selling at 6 and 7 seers within 10 kos of this place; where I have recommended we should remove to. My proposals however were rejected. I send you a yad of my payments to Pawar's people, which make known to the Major, to the end that I may be reimbursed.

The kamavisdars in consort with the Banyas here admit the rates of grain to be as they may wish.

Remark in the Diary.

Kakaji concludes this epistle in requesting Sitaram's best exertions towards the attainment of his various requisitions.

Bombay Government's anxiety and concern.

*Bombay
policy*

In acknowledgment of the above letter from the Resident at Baroda with its enclosures, the concern of Government is to be expressed at finding an arrogation of claim on the part of Kakaji to judge of the requisitions made to him and to obey them only as far as he sees meet, a mode of procedure so materially detracting from, and even precluding the utility of, his assistance as must probably reduce it much below the expectations of the Hon'ble General Wellesley when he first resolved on having recourse to it, besides falling also far short of the heavy charge it involves ; why it becomes indispensably necessary that this point of the Gaikwad commander's yielding in all cases prompt and implicit obedience to the requisitions of the superior British officer in the field be, through the Resident's communications with the native Administration at Baroda, placed on a foundation the most positive and unequivocal of his (the Resident's) progress.

In acting on which instructions, he is to lose no time in advising both this Government and General Jones, to whom (with a communication of copies of the present despatch and of the relative papers that preceded it) it will be recommended to endeavour to conciliate the cordial co-operation of the Gaikwad force by causing on all proper occasions to be fully explained to their commander through the prescribed channel the motives for his requiring any detachment from, or the performance of any duty, by the auxiliaries in question, avoiding also as much as possible (as sound policy points out) to require of them such exertions in points of general duty as he may have reason to believe, on consulting with Captain Williams, that they will under any particular inducement feel indisposed to, so as, on the whole, to derive the greatest use from them of which they may be found capable ; one great means of which will consist in keeping them contented and without cause of personal or general disgust.

In this last view, it is to be further noticed to the Resident that whatever conditions were promised these men, on their finally agreeing to join Colonel Murray's detachment, should be fairly complied with, the more especially as Kakaji is found to refer, in the 4th paragraph of his letter to Major Walker of the 16th of October, to their being disappointed in that respect as the chief cause of their untractable deportment.

The Resident is to be further called on to report on what Kakaji adverts to as the occasion of some dissatisfaction to him, relative to certain arrangements in regard to Dehgam, and to explain in what manner Kakaji's additional charges of management can have increased, as he therein pretends, to the large additional amount of 3,25,000 Rupees.

1804 *Baroda*, 22nd November, 1804 (1804, P. D. 713)

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

*Sitaram's
offer refused*

I had the honour of reporting to you on the 7th ultimo for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council the intention of the

Diwan to assume the command of the Gaikwad forces serving in the field with the British army. In pursuance of that intention Sitaram on the 13th the day of the Dasara caused his tents to be pitched at a little distance from the town on the road leading to Malwa.

In forming his resolution, however, the Diwan had overlooked some considerable obstructions to his departure and had calculated too confidently on an acquiescence in expenses which that measure involved. The etiquette of the Government required that he should be accompanied by the jari-patka and a multitude of civil as well as military officers. These establishments on a moderate calculation would be attended with an expense of between one and two lakhs of Rupees a month, while from their nature they were rather calculated to involve us in new embarrassments than to remove the difficulties which it was in view to remedy.

The examination of these questions, the celebration of the Dasara and Diwali festivals, which closely followed each other, and the framing of the necessary arrangements for the conduct of the Administration during the absence of the Diwan contributed to delay his departure until the appointment of Major-General Jones to the command of the forces. Under these circumstances I judged it proper that the Diwan should be ready and prepared to take the field, but that the measure should be deferred until the arrival of General Jones, unto whom I proposed to submit the question entirely; and should the General be of opinion that it could be dispensed with, I conceived in that case it would be more for the public interest to detain the Diwan at Baroda.

I had the honour to state these circumstances to General Jones; and having fully weighed the considerations that first suggested the change of the Gaikwad commander with the inconveniences that were likely to attend the measure, he resolved to decline the personal attendance of the Diwan in the field. When Sitaram therefore on the 18th paid a visit to the General at the Residency and told him that he was ready to proceed, the General thanked him for this offer of his services, but observed, that, as he was apprehensive that the affairs of the Gaikwad Government might suffer by the absence of its chief minister, he had no reluctance to conduct the duties in the field through the agency of his relation, Kakaji. *Sitaram's offer refused*

In this manner has this intention of the Diwan to assume the command of the Gaikwad forces been abandoned, and it would probably have been better that it never had been resorted to; but it originated on his part from a desire to obviate the ill effects of the differences, which had arisen between Colonel Murray and Kakaji, and to afford the best proof in his power of his attachment to the cause of the Company.

I was influenced by the same motives to encourage the measure, but I should deem it unjustifiable to recommend any additional expense to be incurred on account of these troops, whose services in their best state are very limited, and who have been so long accustomed to insubordination that it is grown into a part of their established privileges

1804 *Baroda, 22nd November, 1804 (1804, P. D. 71A)*

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

Jones at Baroda I have the honour to inform you that Major-General Jones arrived at Baroda on the 14th instant. Owing to a mistake of the kasids and the arrival of the Major-General at night, the Administration were prevented going out to meet him, as had been previously concerted by them.

On the 16th the Diwan, attended by the principal officers of his Government, paid a visit of ceremony to the General at the Residency, and the usual civilities were exchanged. On the 18th General Jones, accompanied by his staff and the Gentlemen of the Presidency, visited the Raja and afterwards the Diwan. There was an anxious attention in every person to express their respect and goodwill to the General.

Baroda, 22nd November, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 102)

Alexander Walker to Jonathan Duncan.

Jones' papers As my communications with General Jones have all been in an unofficial form, I shall submit them in the same manner to you and leave it to your judgment to make such use of them as you may think proper. Some of them as public papers are superfluous, although they may not be unnecessary for your information.

No. 1. Alexander Walker's Memorandum to General Jones, enclosed in Major Walker's letter to Jonathan Duncan, dated 22nd November.

Sitaram's command

1. The preparations for enabling the Diwan to take the field, the celebration of the Dasara and Divali festivals, which closely followed each other, and the arrangements, which were necessary for the conduct of the Government during his absence contributed to delay the departure of Sitaram until the appointment of General Jones to the command of the forces was announced. The equipment also of the Diwan for the field threatened to be attended with a heavy expense, which must immediately and most probably ultimately also be defrayed by the Company. The etiquette of the Government required that he should be accompanied by the jari-patka with other insignia and many civil officers. These establishments are attended with much expense and were calculated to involve us in new embarrassments. Under these circumstances I judged it proper that the Diwan should be ready and prepared to take the field, but that his departure should be deferred until the arrival of General Jones, unto whom I proposed to submit the question entirely; and should the General be of opinion that he could conduct the service through the medium of Kakaji, I conceived in that case it would be more for the public interest to detain the Diwan at Baroda.

Comment.

General Jones, having fully weighed the circumstances stated in this paragraph, was of opinion that he should carry on the service by the agency of Kakaji; and accordingly at an interview with the Diwan he dispensed with his personal attendance in the field. This will be the subject of an official letter.

2. As it has always been very desirable to obtain intelligence of Holkar's movements, I have been anxious to establish a correspondence in his camp. A person of the name of Musa Miah has offered himself for this employment; but I have detained him until the arrival of General Jones, who may, if he should think proper, engage him and carry him with him into the field. *Musa's offer*

Musa Miah will require for his expenses monthly as follows :

for himself	..	..	..	..	..	Rs. 100
6 men at 12 each	..	..	..	..	..	72
1 cook	..	..	..	..	..	10
1 horsekeeper	..	..	..	..	..	10
horse expense	..	..	..	..	..	15
per month Rupees						207

He requires besides 75 Rupees to purchase a horse and six months' advance.

This person's family will remain in Gujarat as a pledge for his fidelity, and in case of any accident to himself he expects the Company to provide for them.

Comment.

Musa Miah has been engaged by General Jones on the terms of this memorandum, and he has proceeded on his mission, instructed to procure intelligence he is to transmit to General Lake and every other British authority within his reach.

3. The arrangement, which Government made for the payment of the Gaikwad troops, had in view three objects, viz. to relieve as much as possible the Company's finances, to exonerate the commanding officer as much as possible from the trouble attending these payments, and lastly to prevent any uneasy discussion between him and the commander of the Gaikwad forces. *Payment of troops*

Since the army has been put in motion, it is difficult and may, as they advance, be impracticable to procure bills. The remittances therefore in future for these troops must all probably be made in cash and sent under charge of our escorts. It is evident that the convoys may suffer an interruption and delay, which may be very inconvenient to troops who can have no field-chest. Two plans may be suggested to remedy this inconvenience.

The first is that there shall be a consignment of treasure to the Paymaster only, who will supply Captain Williams on his receipt or indent with such amount as he may require monthly for the support of the Gaikwad troops.

The second is that the consignments shall continue to be separate, but that the Paymaster shall supply Captain Williams from time to time with the sums requisite to complete his payments whenever the irregular arrival of the treasure or any other fortuitous circumstance may occasion a deficiency.

Comment.

These memorandums were made before the terms of Trivedi's renewed contract were known at Baroda. By the construction of the 4th article of that contract Gopaldas claims the right of furnishing the Gaikwad troops with money, and General Jones is also of that opinion. The General trusts that six lakhs of Rupees will nearly cover every expense in camp; but, if it does not, the excess he thinks on whatever account must be provided through the channel of Trivedi agreeable to the terms of the contract. The large supply of money (about 15 or 16 lakhs of Rupees) transmitted or under transmission for this month, will with the resources in the camp be sufficient to defray all the field expenses, there is reason to think, for three months.

On his arrival in camp General Jones proposes to ascertain the amount of these expenses as precisely as possible; and if Trivedi's advances are regular, it cannot be doubted but that, aided by the Company's own funds in Gujarat, the army ought to suffer no pecuniary distress.

Provisions

4. It would be very desirable to supply the army in the field with provisions and carriage from Gujarat. These objects are only to be secured by an agency within the province, acquainted with the resources of the country and with a command of cash and influence able to bring them forward.

Comment

To secure these objects General Jones has employed the agency of Mr. De Souza.

Complaints

5. The Gaikwad troops are not furnished with any store or stock of provisions. This has subjected them to considerable hardships; and the very high prices, which they have been obliged to give for the necessities of life, have been not without reason a subject of their grievance. This hardship may be probably remedied or at least greatly alleviated by allowing the Gaikwad troops to purchase grains at fixed price from our bazar and by allowing them to share the supplies which the country may produce in the course of the operations of the army.

Comment.

The provisioning of the Gaikwad troops will obtain General Jones's early attention; and he is sensible of the necessity of affording them every assistance in his power.

Provisions

6. It is understood by recent letters from Colonel Murray that he is principally in want of rice, wheat and biscuit, under the heading of provisions; and under that of carriage, bullocks and drivers. The number of the former required may be 4,000, and of the latter as many hundred. That number of cattle may be procured in Gujarat and also the drivers, although possibly neither with that expedition which the service requires. The best way to provide both is to invite public proposals.

It should always be recollected that the equipments of an army are constantly wasting, and that, besides its first equipment, means should be established for keeping it complete, grounded on a calculation of its probable losses or expenditures. Colonel Murray intimates that

he is not in want of tents, and consequently the camels, that have been purchased for their conveyance, may be employed in carrying provisions to the army.

Comment.

General Jones made arrangements on the principles I [Walker] suggested in this paragraph, calculated to supply the immediate, and provide for the future wants of the army.

7. In order to furnish convoys readily and to supply the army *Convoys* regularly with its wants, there should be at this station 3 or 4,000 bullocks completely equipped with saddles and drivers. These after proceeding to camp, loaded, may either be returned empty, or an equal number in their room. By establishing a proper succession of reliefs, the service could never be disappointed. Everything depends on making a just calculation of the wants of an army and the means of supplying them, and in taking care to establish regular and official channels for keeping every department complete.

Comment.

This also is ordered.

8. In transmitting treasure some inconvenience and delay has *Packing* arisen by the want of proper packing boxes. The monthly transmission of *boxes* treasure may be estimated from 6 to 8 lakhs, each box contains 2,000 Rupees; and to convey the medium of this sum it would be necessary to have 3 or 400 spare boxes always ready at this station.

Comment.

These objects have in like manner been provided for.

9. The great object of furnishing the army with money would *Monthly* be much facilitated by a monthly letter of advice from the Paymaster *estimates* with an estimate of the sums required for the expenditure of each succeeding month, including the Gaikwad troops and all probable contingencies. This advice and estimate ought to reach Baroda as early as possible in each month for the next, and not later than the 15th at furthest. This method will give as precise an idea as can be expected of the pecuniary demands of the army and afford time to prepare funds, the issue of which may commence on the first of every month. The Paymaster may also at the same time state his own ways and means.

A considerable part of the pay of the army will be spent within the camp. Those who are in possession of this cash will always be very ready to lend it to the Paymaster for bills at par on Baroda. The officers have also generally some money to remit, and by these means it is presumed that considerable sums may be collected in the field. A number of wealthy shroffs or their representatives have accompanied Kakaji, and these people will likewise be able to afford a good deal of assistance. In addition to these various methods of raising money, bills may occasionally be transmitted when the army approaches any considerable town, and every exertion will be made here to draw forth to the utmost the latent hoards of the shroffs, either in the camp or elsewhere.

Comment

As the observations in this paragraph were written before Trivedi's contract, they are now in a great measure superfluous ; but, should circumstances hereafter render an observance of them necessary, they will obtain the General's attention.

Munition

10. To derive any service from the Gaikwad troops it is necessary that they should be supplied with ammunition, but it is desirable that they should obtain this assistance from Gujarat. The whole of the powder they carried with them was destroyed in the late rains. The Diwan will be requested to find carriage for any quantity of powder and lead which can be spared at Baroda. They would require, to equip them decently, about 50 maunds of lead, 100 maunds of cannon-powder, and the same quantity of musket-powder. These supplies may accompany the present consignment of treasure.

Comment.

There was no lead in store ; but 25,000 ball cartridges and the quantity of powder here mentioned has been issued from the arsenal at Baroda for the use of the Gaikwad troops. For the conveyance of these supplies to the army the Gaikwad Government has furnished carriage, and they proceed with a convoy now under orders.

Bills

11. In drawing bills on Baroda the Paymaster should be careful to make the period of payment after acceptance as long as he can, and for any considerable sum or exceeding 20,000 Rupees it should never be made payable at or shorter notice than eight or ten days' sight. This is the regulation of Government for bills drawn on the Presidency, and it is also the established mercantile usage of Gujarat.

If possible also the Paymaster should contrive to make his drafts fall payable between the first and 10th of every month, because it is within that period that this treasury will be best prepared to answer them. It must be understood that the drafts of the Paymaster will be a deduction from the capital or stock which may be provided for transmission at Baroda. The advantages of supplying money to the largest extent possible by bills are evident, as this saves risk, carriage and convoys.

*Comment.**Orders*

The remarks on the 9th paragraph apply here.

1804 *Baroda, 26th November, 1804 (1804, P. D. B. M. 71A)*

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

Kakaji's case

I request you that you will be so good as to state to the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the Gaikwad Government apprised Kakaji of the appointment of Major-General Jones to the command of the forces, and instructed him to obey all his orders without reserve. I shall forward to General Jones a separate communication from the Darbar to the same effect, which he may deliver or forward to Kakaji himself.

I have the honour to enclose translations of the agreements entered into by Captain Williams with these troops at Godhra, and to which Kakaji's complaints in the letter to me of the 16th ultimo refer. Although

these agreements were forced on Captain Williams, and he was induced to accede to them by the pressure of circumstances, when the support of the Gaikwad troops was supposed to be of the utmost consequence to the British army, which had fallen back on the Mahi, I conceived it absolutely necessary that they should be carried strictly into execution. When I was informed therefore of Kakaji's complaints, I addressed the enclosed copy of instructions to Captain Williams, which, I trust, will meet the approbation of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council and be found to correspond with the object of your present dispatch.

The sum of 3,25,000 Rupees is a demand of Kakaji on the Gaikwad Government. In his accounts, which are not yet adjusted, this is stated to have arisen by answering orders of the Darbar exceeding the realised revenue, by entertaining sibandi at Ahmadabad in the room of the discharged Arabs, and by the increase which he found it necessary to make to his forces last year to replace the drafts which were made from them to reinforce the Diwanji, who was serving with the British army. Dehgam is leased by Kakaji; and I imagine his wish, in respect to it, is, that it may be continued under his management, or its revenues appropriated to the discharge of his debts.

No. 1. Translation of a yad by the sarkar of Anandrao Gaikwad Sena-khaskhel Samsher Bahadur, being a statement of the pay and allowances of the force under Raghunathrao Mahipat (Kakaji), composed of old and newly entertained servants or soldiers, as accompanying the British troops to the Malwa Country.

	Rs.	a.	p.	
Pagadars	7,000	0	0	<i>Pay of troops</i>
Sibandi huzurat	43,307	2	0	
Silahdars	52,888	2	0	
Servants	3,643	0	0	
Kakaji's expense and servants' wages	10,000	0	0	
Karkuns of darakdars	6,000	0	0	
Modikhana	3,000	0	0	
1,800 horsemen	57,650	0	0	
2,000 horse and foot at Rs. 20	40,000	0	0	
Huzur modikhana supplying grain	10,423	3	37	
	Rs. 2,28,512	3	37	

Let the sums as above stated, being the allowances of the pagas, sibandis, sowars and foot with the karkhana, including every department, be paid regularly by Captain Williams on the part of the Hon'ble Company; that at Dohad a correct muster shall be taken, whereby only can be known the exact number of troops; that hereafter, should it be found necessary to entertain more, it shall be done by the joint consent of Kakaji and Captain Williams; that this pay is due to the people from the 26th May, excepting the sowars or sibandis as may be entertained hereafter, when their pay of course will be due from the date they enter the service.

No. 2. *Translate of a yad bandobast respecting the troops of Senakhaskhel Samsher Bahadur as proceeding to the Malwa country with the Hon'ble. Company's force.*

Godhra
treaty

From the scarcity of every grain in the Malwa country, where these troops are now proceeding, it has been determined to increase the pay of the kadim or established troops, and that this agreement shall stand valid so long as grain is not sold at less than a rate of six pakka seers per Rupee. Should it however happen to be less, and the people consequently be unable to support themselves, it will then be necessary that Raghunath Mahipatrao on the part of the Gaikwad Sarkar with Captain Williams in like circumstances on the part of the Hon'ble Company, having in view the interests of their masters, shall make such inquiry into each department of the force as shall enable them with justice and integrity to settle on the people, etc. such additional allowance as may be deemed sufficient to support them during the scarcity so prevailing ; that this extra allowance shall be paid regularly by Captain Williams, but with this proviso that the extra allowance will be curtailed as scarcity may diminish and plenty ensue.

1804 *Baroda, 24th October, 1804 (1804, P. D. 71A)*

Alexander Walker to Captain Williams.

Orders In order to silence the clamours of the Gaikwad troops on account of the dearness of provisions, and to leave them at the same time no ground of complaint whatever of the justice of our proceedings towards them, it will be proper to act in strict conformity to the agreement near Godhra, which was concluded by you and Sir Miguel De Souza. In consequence of that agreement it will be necessary to account to them for the difference of the price of grain between six and three seers.

In like manner by virtue of the same agreement, when the price of grain shall fall, the additional pay, allowed to those troops on account of the scarcity, must be reduced in proportion. As the price of grain must fall with the new crops, which are everywhere abundant, this arrangement will probably in the end diminish the expense.

But in order to carry it correctly into effect, and as these troops receive their full pay monthly agreeable to the custom of the Company's service, it is indispensably necessary that they should be mustered. This will be fulfilling literally your agreement at Godhra ; and you will be so good as to carry it into effect with Kakaji, who has also received an intimation from his Government for the same purpose.

1804 *Baroda, 30th November, 1804 (1804, P. D. 71A)*

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

*Kakaji's
affairs* I have the honour to enclose for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council copy of a letter dated 15th instant from Captain Williams and of my answer with its enclosure. I have likewise enclosed translations of the correspondence of this Darbar and of myself with Kakaji respecting the Gaikwad troops.

I have since the date of this correspondence received advice from Captain Williams of the 18th, stating that the Gaikwad forces marched on the 16th, and joined Colonel Murray's camp on the 17th, which he

mentions to be four kos north of Naraingarh, from whence his last letter is written.

But in a subsequent letter from Kakaji dated the 19th, and of one from the agent of Samal Bechar's House in the Gaikwad camp of the 20th (translations of both of which I have the honour to enclose) it would appear that Kakaji had been ordered to form a junction with Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes, and that he had on his route towards that officer's detachment fallen in with a body of the enemy, whom he had defeated. Although I should think that the outline of this information may be true, yet I cannot desire it to be implicitly credited, until it is confirmed by a report from Captain Williams.

I request you will be pleased to inform the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that Major-General Jones arrived at Dohad on the 26th and left that place the next morning, taking the route of Ratlam.

No. 1. Letter from Captain Williams to Major Walker, dated Camp near Mandasor, 15th November, 1804.

I am extremely concerned to be obliged to report to you that at an interview I had last night with Kakaji he assured me that not a ^{Kakaji} ^{sulks} jamadar in his army would proceed further on than Rampura; and he asked me where Colonel Murray intended going. I told him that I knew not; but that I imagined, if we went to Rampura, that would be extremity of our march to the north.

He then entered on the subjects of a remuneration on account of the difference of the price of grain, and said that it amounted to 97,000 Rupees. I replied that I was instructed to settle the account with him, and fulfill the engagement, I entered into at Vejalpur [*near Godhra*], in the strictest manner. At the same time it was expected that he was to do the same on his part; and as he had refused my ascertaining the number of people he had with him at Dohad, it was necessary that I should do so now; which he positively refused. I then told him I should refer his case to Baroda. He also wanted a month's pay, which is not due until the end of this month, and he knows our troops have not been paid even for last month. As by his own declaration we were not to expect the services of his troops further than Rampura, which is, I understand, no more than two days' march from here, I felt little inclination to gratify him in money matters.

He had halted yesterday on the pretence of its being a holiday, so that, before I came away, I got him to promise to march this morning. The usual signals were made this morning for marching; and as I usually do, I rode forward, and passing his guns on the road, I did not entertain an idea that they would not follow. After I had gone on so far as to be in sight of the British encampment, four or five horsemen overtook me, saying that Kakaji had pitched his tents again and would not march, so that I was obliged to return.

I am now extremely ill of a fever, so much so that I cannot see Kakaji, but he has sent me word he intends marching to-morrow. What to do, or how to act under the present untoward circumstances that attend me, I am at a loss to determine. I must request your instructions and advice with the least possible delay.

No. 2. Letter from Major Walker to Captain Williams, dated Baroda, 29th November.

Jones to decide I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 15th instant and regret that such circumstances should have occurred as you have found it necessary to represent. The repeated instances of disobedience in the Gaikwad troops and the little regard, which they have hitherto paid to the orders of their own Government, render it very questionable whether the interference of the Darbar on this occasion will be effectual. I had several conversations with Major-General Jones on the subject of these troops ; and as he is fully acquainted with the limited nature of their exertions, it would be proper that any question respecting their services should be decided by him.

If they positively however refuse to go further than Rampura, their services will be reduced to a much narrower scale than the General would have any reason to expect, as they have been entertained on the professed principle of accompanying the British army wherever the prosecution of the war might require. At Rampura they may be useful in maintaining the communication with Malwa and Gujarat, but can be of no advantage to the army in its operations against the enemy. It will therefore rest with the General to determine what price or value he will put on this limited description of service.

By the literal and express terms of your agreement at Vejalpur they are bound to submit to be mustered in order to entitle them to any reimbursement on account of the price of provisions. Although this was their own agreement, expressed in an instrument originally composed in the Marathi language by the Diwanji and Kakaji, the jamadars refuse to conform to it. But in insisting on, or dispensing with, this measure you should be guided entirely by the sentiments of General Jones.

Should it be dispensed with, you may embrace the occasion of requiring from the sardars an unequivocal assurance that they will go on general service and obey without reserve the orders which they may receive from General Jones. You will have an opportunity of conferring fully with the General on this subject, when he joins the army or on his way thither, should the Gaikwad troops remain behind.

In the meantime I have the pleasure to enclose the translation of a letter from Kakaji of the same date as your report, but written apparently at an earlier part of the day, when it was his intention to have marched. As in this letter Kakaji makes no mention of the resolution of the jamadars to halt at Rampura, and expresses himself satisfied with the arrangement for silencing the clamours of his people, excepting the article of muster, I am led to hope that there may have been some mistake in his communication to you.

Having made a communication of your letter on this subject to the Diwan, he expresses himself in the strongest terms of confidence that Kakaji will not separate from the English army ; but he admits that, as Rampura is the boundary of the knowledge of many of the jamadars, they may at that place make some stir about their allowances and object to any muster being taken of their troops.

It is probable that all these questions will be decided before this letter can reach you ; but, that you may have every eventual aid, which can be afforded from hence, the Diwan will also write on this occasion

to Kakaji. Before General Jones left Baroda, his appointment to the command of the forces was announced to Kakaji, and he was instructed to pay strict attention to his orders. I have to-day forwarded a similar instruction open to the General, which he may either deliver or send to Kakaji as he judges proper.

I have already transmitted to you the commands of Government under the 16th instant, which, with other previous communications from the same authority and such directions as you may receive from Major-General Jones, will point out the line of conduct to be pursued towards the Gaikwad troops, modified of course from time to time, as expediency or the necessity of the service may require.

No. 3. Letter from Raghunath Mahipatrao Kakaji to Major Walker, dated Mandasor, 15th November, 1804.

Silence on your part for some time gave me cause of uneasiness till the receipt of yours of the 31st October and the 4th November on the 12th November, when on a perusal I learned their respective contents (here he recapitulates them). *Kakaji's defence*

Your instructions to Captain Williams to make our extra payment is favourable, on which I had no apprehensions ; and of the result I shall write you. The custom of your Government to perform its promises, I know, Sir ; and accordingly I doubt not I shall be paid. I have every dependence on the Company's Government, and as one of themselves I shall be treated. This good treatment to us, Sir, will excite the attention of God by whose interference will be ensured success to yourself and your Government.

The subject, Major Saheb, of my tedious and incessant epistles, since I left you, may have merited and incurred your displeasure. I beg to observe however that you are the only person to whom I could submit my sentiments relative to a subject of such weight and so serious in its tendency, and on whom only I could depend for a removal of the cause of complaint. It has therefore been entirely under this conviction that I was induced to omit no opportunity of submitting the subject in question.

Kakaji here assumes the pen : I have gained much money, but in the midst of scarcity, Sir, be assured none could afford me presents. My people were labouring with difficulties and clamorous for relief. These circumstances would appear to reflect on me, but let them be inquired into, when it will be found that the wants of the people and not mine have been the subject of my writing. For your information on these circumstances, Sir, Captain Williams writes to you ; if he however writes ought to my disadvantage, God only knows.

To give muster is now the word ; whether this is the custom of the Gaikwad Darbar or not, those who belong to it of course should know ; and during the reign of three Gaikwads it has never been put in force. How therefore can I comply on this subject ? Write to this purpose that we may be restored to quietude, which I look to from my dependence on you. My view, Sir, is not to gain money but your goodwill, as I have done that of the Gaikwad, the benefits of whom I have received. To-day we shall march in the direction of Rampura through a waste country. What more can I say ?

No. 4. *Letter from Major Walker to Kakaji, dated Baroda, 20th October.*

Advice I have been favoured with your late frequent communications of various dates. You have stated the great scarcity of every kind of grain, the necessity of an increase of pay agreeable to the agreement entered into at or near Godhra, and that you require a gratuity for the people sufficient to enable them to refit themselves in rowtis and pardas, which were destroyed in the late heavy rains. Before the receipt of this, you will know from Captain Williams that I have empowered or requested him, aided by yourself, to put in force payments in strict conformity to the agreements at Godhra. Need I now tell you the custom of the Company's Government to carry strictly into effect their word of promise? For with them a breach of word destroys dependence and consequently credit.

Your silahdars you observe in the great scarcity of the times have not only been clamorous but disobedient. These circumstances are certainly very disgraceful, and it has been my constant instruction to you to exert the first quality of a commander by rendering your people subservient to orders, by which means only can they be creditable to you, and their services useful to the State.

In your situation money cannot always be forthcoming in a moment. When this happens, you should have patience and consult with Captain Williams on the best local means of providing a supply of cash. But it would be better to avoid complaints, which only create uneasiness without in any manner removing your difficulties. I have at present (2,00,000 Rs.) two lakhs of Rupees ready to transmit, but they must wait the departure of a convoy in order to reach you with safety. I am happy to inform you that on the 13th the auspicious day of the Dasara the fort of Chandore surrendered to the troops under the command of Col. Wallace. I admonish you also to pay attention to Captain Williams' advice, whose counsels will enable you to carry on the duties of your mission smoothly and give pleasure to me. What more can I say?

No. 5. *Letter from Alexander Walker to Kakaji, dated 13th November.*

Displeased I have been favoured by Sitaram with the perusal of your letter of the 25th Rajab and have to observe its contents have given me much concern. The cause of this must be obvious, when we know that the subject of the complaint is unnecessary and may, if continued, prove unfavourable to your own views and diminish that credit you are likely to gain on this respectable mission. As a further proof of what I have already observed that your complaint is unnecessary, I have had letters from Captain Williams of the date following your letter, whereby it appears that your troops had received their full pay. You will ere this have received my last letter on the subject of your payments, and you will therein see what pains and trouble have been taken to remove the possibility of those inconveniences you so elaborately state and repeat in all your communications. Should however even these be subject to delay, let me exhort you as an officer to check with firmness the importunate clamours of your people. In short I expect from your own resources and those of Captain Williams, when the regular transmission of treasure from this [place] is interrupted or retarded, the means of relieving your immediate wants and of obviating all incon-

veniences in future. General Jones will shortly be with you, from whom you may expect every seasonable aid. What more can I say ?

No. 6. *Letter from Raghunath Mahipatrao Kakaji to Sitaram Bapu, dated Mandasor, 13th November, 1804.*

The subject of your epistle or rather the words, wherein you say that from my conduct towards the Colonel or the general observance of my duty gives him cause to be dissatisfied, surprise me much, as I am and ever have been guided in my conduct towards Colonel Murray, as well from what I verbally understood from the Major at Baroda as from what he has ever written in all his letters, to obey Colonel Murray's orders. Indeed so punctual have I been to his advice that in the company of that Gentleman I do not speak to him direct, but give my sentiments to Captain Williams for his information; and in further observance of this, whatever he writes to Captain Williams, it is complied with; and Captain Williams always does me justice. *Kakaji's defence*

In respect to the arrangements, the Major has very much to my satisfaction instructed Captain Williams to carry them into effect. On this being done, I shall hereafter write you. Thus is my dependence on the Major realised, and thus shall it ever continue. From this quarter much may have been written respecting me, deserving probably of inquiry. This I would wish to be done; and that my conduct, if improper, should receive any censure it may merit. I know not, Bawa Saheb, how the long and elaborate epistles, I have continued to write since I left you, may have acted on the Major's mind. I look forward however to the day of our meeting when, I trust, I shall answer fully to your and his satisfaction. I look not to gain money, but I ask from God that the Hon'ble Company may be successful in all their undertakings as the best road for an increase to us of their friendship. If from no cause I am unfavourably spoken of, what can I say? But if at the time of work I act short of my duty, I will then readily submit myself to the consequences of your displeasure. The Major however is great and adequate to conceive all. Captain Williams also writes from this *[place]* frequently. Bawa Saheb, the people could not be guilty of aught for asking for subsistence. I shall take from the fadnavis a month's account of our receipts and expenditures, which I will send for your information. For the Major to have sent you here, was not proper. As he likes however in giving this opinion, I am not, I assure you, actuated from interested motives. As the Major, who well knows the state of the riches of our Government, he must know that, were you sent, the expenses would not be assured; and that, if there were resources to answer to demands, why should you have your claimants upon your head?

Captain Williams had paid us for October and will now pay us for November.

Kakaji here assumes the pen with a repetition of the circumstances above stated. He observes that while ignorant of the next day's movement, he but learns at night by a chit from Captain Williams what is to take place at an early hour the next morning; that is informing him that the British troops are to march, and that he is to follow. "Write me of the settlement of the sibandis, which will tend to satisfy

the people here, who have claims as well as those about you, which I doubt not will be done by the assistance of the Major. This my blessing to you."

No. 7. Letter from Kakaji to Sitaram and the Diwanji, without date.

Refuses to obey With my assurances to the people I have been enabled to reach thus far ; but that the people, conceiving we shall march to Delhi, have it in mind to recommence their clamours. As Captain Williams tells us, when we are mustered, we shall be paid. However there are who say that, as it is not their custom, they will not submit or admit of it, as it is not an article of agreement ; as they observe, they all see whether their numbers are correct or not. I mean in a day or two however to speak to Captain Williams, the subject of which you shall know.

You write me, Bawa Saheb, without omission to act to the wishes of Colonel Murray and Captain Williams. Why am I ignorant that, as I know, were I here to act wrong, the act of its consequences would fall on you ? and under this connection, be assured I shall be strictly correct. The late excessive scarcities afforded much matter for complaint, which is now something lessened, as we find wheat at 5 seers, chana at 5 seers, tandul at 15 seers, and tup or ghee at 1½ seers. What follows however remains to be seen.

You observe the Major desires you to go, and that he would effect a settlement with the sibandis. This is a work however of much moment, though nothing has here happened or is likely to happen requiring your presence.

Impressed from motives of friendship we are thus acting in difficulties only known to ourselves ; but that Kakaji is making money is also a subject of conversation. Thus let me ask where has the Colonel been in action, and where have I deserted his cause ? If ought of this nature has taken place, I take the consequences to myself. It merits not however in its present stage any further notice, particularly as my actions must be there (at Baroda) known and have been a subject of investigation. What more can I say ?

No. 8. Letter from Kakaji to the Diwanji.

Stays behind Colonel Murray has this day marched forward, giving me information of his intentions to do so at 12 o'clock at night. As we had not got our daily portion of grain collected, I have not this day broken ground. They have but marched 2 or 2½ kos, where I shall to-morrow join them. I must to-day satisfy the people, who are sitting in my presence clamorous and dissatisfied.

No. 9. Letter from Kakaji to Sitaram, dated 19th November.

Order obeyed To-day we were to march, and to-morrow we meant to reach Rampura, when at 12 o'clock or between 12 and 1 at night the Colonel wrote from the village Baroda that Colonel Holmes, who had been detached to Ratlam for treasure, was returning, and [the Colonel] desired me therefore to move back as far as Mandasor to accompany or aid him through any difficulty in joining. In conformity therefore I mean to march back to-day to Naraingarh, where, when Holmes Saheb arrives, I shall accompany him as he likes. Thus I am actuated and do act. How then can they write unfavourably of my service ?

The rest of the letter is in Kakaji's own handwriting and, after recapitulating what is before written, concludes with observing that from the nature of these retrograde movements he does not know how the people will relish again returning. That he knows so much of the intentions of the great as that Rampura is the first place he will attack and take possession of; but after that he knows nothing of the further intentions of Colonel Murray, in what direction he will move.

No. 10. Letter from the agent of Samal Bechar with Kakaji's camp, dated 19th November, 1804, 11 P. M.

Colonel Holmes had been detached some time ago for treasure at Ratlam. The day we marched from Mandasor the British encampment was 4 kos beyond our lines in front. To this encampment in the middle of the night Colonel Murray wrote Kakaji, desiring him to return as far as Mandasor and accompany Colonel Holmes in his return with the money. When in conformity to this order Kakaji marched to within 4 kos from Mandasor, where encamping, a force under Gangaram Kothari, amounting to 4,000 men came and were about pitching their tents at a distance of two kos. On receiving this intelligence Shrimant Kakaji Saheb assembled his people and advanced upon the enemy. The action commenced by exchange of shots on each side, until Kakaji charged their lines, put them to flight and took camels and horses in number 200 with 2 colours.

The victory being completed, Kakaji Saheb returned to his encampment at 9 P.M. Our loss was about 4 bargirs and 4 horses; the rest remain in perfect health and happiness.

Bombay, 1st December, 1804 (1804, P.D. 71A)
Bombay resolution.

1804

The Board approves of the Resident's having written to Captain Williams in the terms of their former instructions to cause the agreement made with the Gaikwad force, on the occasions of their taking the field, to be literally carried into execution, expressing at the same time our surprise and regret that such punctuality on our part should not induce a better conduct on theirs, and that some of them should even dispute their having even agreed to let their bodies of armed retainers be mustered; in respect to which we conclude it must be in the power of Captain Williams to confute them by the production of the original agreement to which that officer appears to have been a party, the result of which we shall be anxious to have reported to us with the shortest possible delay.

Baroda, 2nd December, 1804 (1804, P. D. 71A)
Alexander Walker to James Grant.

1804

I have much satisfaction in enclosing for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council a copy of a letter from Captain Williams, reporting the complete defeat of a considerable body of the enemy by the Gaikwad troops. A division of Holkar's forces, commanded by Gangaram Kothari, marched from Rampura, and passed the British army in the intention of intercepting a large supply of treasure, which was proceeding from Mandasor under the charge of Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes's corps.

On receiving this intelligence Colonel Murray ordered the Gaikwad troops back to Mandasor and to form a junction with Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes. This order Kakaji appears to have obeyed with promptitude, and on the 19th, within 6 kos of Mandasor, fell in with the enemy, whom he instantly resolved to attack. The decisive conduct of Kakaji and the behaviour of his troops on this occasion are both deserving of praise. The services they have performed are also considerable. They have dispersed a corps of the enemy, which had got into the rear of the British army, and which would at least have materially interrupted its communications with Gujarat. I am informed by a separate note from Captain Williams that the number of the enemy opposed to the Gaikwad troops was not less than 3,000 cavalry.

I have also the honour to enclose for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council a translation of Kakaji's letter to the Administration, giving a modest account of the affair, and the extract of another from one of the shroffs in his camp, containing a further relation of it.

No. 1. Letter from George Williams to Alexander Walker, dated Naraingarh, 20th November, 1804.

*Kakaji's
victory*

I have the honour to inform you that Colonel Murray, having received intelligence that a corps of Holkar's had left Rampura under the command of Gangaram Kothari and, as was conjectured, with an intention of intercepting a very valuable escort coming to camp with Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes, gave directions that Kakaji with the Gaikwad forces should proceed by forced marches for Mandasor and join Colonel Holmes. Soon after we came to our ground yesterday evening near this village (6 kos from Mandasor), we had reports of a body of troops encamping on our left. Some said at the distance of 2 kos, others that they were farther off, the number of the troops were also variously reported.

After deliberating a short time, Kakaji resolved on attacking them and immediately marched out of camp with his cavalry only. After proceeding about 2 kos, we found the enemy formed to receive us on the opposite bank of a river, the bed of which was extremely rocky and rugged; and as we approached, they gave one general fire. But the Gaikwad troops were across before they could reload, and attacked those who stood their ground sword in hand. At this place, we took eleven camels with swivels mounted on them, whose fire would have been very destructive, had it been well directed. The enemy was then pursued to, and through, his camp the distance of a kos farther off, which was plundered of a number of bullocks, tattoos, etc.; and it was only night coming on that put an end to the pursuit. We have taken, besides what I have above mentioned, some stands of colours, a considerable number of camels laden with rockets, their nagora and several horses.

The prisoners taken were disarmed, plundered, and left at liberty; some of them were badly wounded; one of the prisoners, that I spoke to, told me, they had come with the sole intention of intercepting our treasure. I have only heard of our having seven men and four horses wounded, mostly, sword; and spear-wounds.

Kakaji has halted to-day in consequence of the fatigue his people underwent yesterday, but will join Colonel Holmes at Mandasor to-morrow.

No. 2. *Letter from Raghunath Mahipatrao Kakaji to Sitaram Raoji, dated, 19th November, 1804.*

I wrote you on the 15th that I was ordered by Colonel Murray to return as far as Mandasor to escort or accompany Colonel Holmes from thence on his way to join the army with treasure. We accordingly marched back on that day to this place. Gangaram Kothari, a follower of Holkar, learning this information marched in this direction with a force of 2 or 3,000 cavalry, determined to intercept the treasury, and encamped from me at a distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ kos to the right of my lines. Colonel Holmes was now at Mandasor distant from us 5 kos. *Kakaji's victory*

My own cavalry, who had been out to reconnoitre the enemies' encampment, returned with the information I sent them for. Upon which I ordered the people to prepare for action and directed Amin, jamadar, to precede the whole, and followed myself with the rest of the troops.

We marched on and discovered our enemy on the opposite bank of a river, which divided us. Having crossed this impediment, with a remembrance of God and my relations, I directed the troops to move forward quickly and commenced a small action. On their part, they have lost many killed and wounded. After putting them to flight, we took their camp, and everything it contained, *viz*, luttiewallas, naubats, a considerable number of camels loaded with rockets, and several stands of colours.

By the assistance of God we might have made the whole of this force prisoners; but, while labouring under so many disadvantages, it was impossible. I was ignorant of the state of the country, the horses were fatigued as well from the course of the action as from having previously made a march of ten kos; and overtaken by night, we were involuntarily prevented giving them farther pursuit than we did. My number of wounded in this action I compute to be 25 men and horses in all.

Sitaram Saheb, our people behaved extremely well and justly merit the entire approbation of their employers. Amin, jamadar, with his people and your kass paga particularly distinguished themselves. Of that paga one bargir and several horses are wounded. Captain Williams has written to Major Walker of this action.

What follows is in Kakaji's own handwriting: After recapitulating the circumstances as above detailed, he observes: I received a message from Gangaram, desiring me to be quiet and not to interfere; that he had come close to us, determined to intercept and take the treasure that was coming this way to join the British encampment. I sent him word in answer that this could not be; and accordingly after having made every necessary arrangement in my camp, I commenced the action and succeeded as above stated, following the enemy not less than three kos. I cannot write you fully my sentiments on the behaviour of Amin, jamadar. The country was in every respect unfavourable to us, intermixed with jungle and cultivation. In the course of our pursuit, such of them as fell into our hands and made no resistance were permitted to escape, whereas those who did resist met a speedy fate.

Whatever their encampment contained, we have taken possession of. I am of opinion however that, had we not been sent on this expedition to form a junction with Colonel Holmes at Mandasor, the treasure would have been taken or part of it endangered, as their cavalry were well mounted.

Hybutrao Baba and Pir Khan Salankar of your paga are of the wounded of that corps. Amin, jamadar, has had three men wounded, but most of his people returned well loaded with plunder. Hybutrao Bugla killed 5 or 6 men with his own hand ; nor did Devba indeed act short of his duty in the engagement.

Captain Williams accompanied us in the action ; and when we pushed on to attack the foe, I desired him to take a muster of us, at which he was much pleased. After the action Captain Williams embraced our sardars and gave them every assurance of his entire satisfaction at their conduct. Having thus stated every particular, I cannot say more than that I trust the deed and its consequences equally merit the approbation of our employers, and that our conduct has been good, as the benefits are obvious. The work of this day perhaps was in other respects fortunate, as I learn it was the intention of Gangaram, aided by the troops of Naraingarh, to have attacked us in the night. Jivanji's son performed his duty well. In the huzurat paga one horse is wounded, in Khan Saheb's troops one horse is missing, having thrown his rider, as also one of Amin, jamadar.

A more particular statement of the losses in this action in wounded and missing I shall to-day send you. In making Major Walker acquainted with these circumstances, say the troops, I think, merit reward. What more can I say ?

No. 3. Letter from the agents of Vakhatchand Khushalchand from Naraingarh, dated 20th November, 1804.

*Kakaji's
victory*

Colonel Holmes proceeding to join the army with treasure was encamped at Mandasor, with two paltans. Gangaram Kothari on gaining this information marched with his force of 5,000 men, determined to attack this detachment and take the money. Colonel Holmes's next march was to have been to Naraingarh a distance of 6 kos.

Kakaji had arrived on his way to form a junction with the Colonel, when Kothari appeared at a distance. Kaka with Amin, jemadar, etc. now assembled the troops and advanced upon the enemy with every success. Having charged their lines, he put the whole to flight, and took some camels, and horses, and one palanquin. This victory was gained by Kaka Saheb with no other loss than 6 or 7 men wounded. Col. Murray with the British army is at Rampura.

Bombay resolution.

*Praising
Kakaji*

A copy of the above letter and of its accompaniments was on the 8th instant sent to the Chief Secretary to the Government in Bengal and another to the Hon'ble General Wellesley, the latter through Colonel Close.

In acknowledging this dispatch the Secretary desired the Resident to offer the congratulations of this Government to the Raja and Administration of Baroda on that very creditable essay of their arms against

the common enemy, and separately to communicate the like sentiments to Kakaji through Captain Williams.

Baroda, 3rd December, 1804 (1804, P.D. 71A)

1804

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

In acknowledging your letters of the 25th and 30th of October *Fencibles* I request you will be pleased to inform the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the company of Fencibles under Lieutenant Hughes marched with Major-General Jones as a part of his escort, and that it is the General's intention to transfer this corps to Captain Williams to answer the purpose of such guards as he or Kakaji may judge necessary.

Baroda, 9th December, 1804 (1804, P. D. 71A)

1804

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

I have the honour to enclose the copy of a letter from Captain *Troops* Williams under the 26th ultimo, and the translations of two from Kakaji *return* dated the 26th and 29th. By the letters it appears that the Gaikwad troops have expressly declared their determination of returning immediately to Baroda, and that the 30th was fixed on for commencing their march back. Although Kakaji endeavours to account for this desertion by some recent causes of disappointment and of irritation, yet there is more than room to suspect that the jamadars have long ago entertained the design. I am induced however to think that they have been rather hurried into the measure by some unfavourable akhbars transmitted from Delhi, and which have been evidently compiled by a partisan of Holkar.

As soon as the Diwan received intelligence of the Gaikwad troops, he wrote a letter to his relation, Kakaji, urging him in the strongest terms by every public and private argument to rejoin the British army. I have the honour to enclose a translation of this letter, and I should hope that it may produce some effect; but I place more reliance on the presence and influence of Major-General Jones, who will have an opportunity of giving those troops personal assurances, which will go a greater way to remove their apprehensions and to restore their confidence than probably any other means.

The General would join the Gaikwad troops, if they remained at Rampura, about the 5 or 6th instant; and if they fell back, he would meet them sooner. I have also enclosed for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council a copy of my letter on this occasion to Captain Williams.

No. 1. Letter from Captain Williams to Major Walker, dated Rampura, 26th November.

I had the honour of addressing you on the 15th from Mandasor and am sorry to inform you that what the Gaikwad forces then threatened, *Refusal to march* is now realised, as not a man of them will advance further.

Just as we arrived here yesterday, I had a note from Colonel Murray, desiring us to push on to the banks of the Chambal, which is two kos farther on; this I made known to the officer commanding Kakaji's advanced guard, who said he had orders to halt here and could not advance further.

In the evening when Kakaji came up, I called on him and told him that Colonel Murray would make a short march to day, and that we could easily overtake him. He replied that it was with difficulty he could get his people on from Mandasor, that they had engaged not to serve beyond Malwa, and that he could not compel them to proceed further; to get them on, he said, they must have two months' pay immediately, a remuneration for their losses by the rains, the difference of the Baroda and Ujjain Rupee, and the price of grain made good to them, also an addition to their pay if they march on. These conditions, from one of which they would not swerve, I considered as equivalents to a direct refusal to march and have acquainted Colonel Murray with it.

They have no just grievance to complain of. Kakaji was everlastingly plaguing me to pay him his account of the difference of the price of grain or Rupees 97,000; and I always replied that I was ready to enter into a fair adjustment of the matter by taking an account of the number of his horses and the quantity he consumed daily. This he declined. At length on the 21st instant, in consequence of a very pressing demand to pay him instantly, I wrote him a letter, in which I said that I was ready to pay him the difference of the price of grain, provided he allowed me to take an account of his horses; to which he sent me no answer. I had also promised them a month's pay on their arrival here, not doubting but we should join our camp at this place. This they may call a grievance, but I told Kakaji last night that all the money was in the English camp, and that he still should have his month's pay the instant he joined it; which, if he chose, he might do in one day.

No. 2. Letter from Raghunath Mahipatrao Kakaji to Sitaram Raoji and Sakhararam Diwanji, dated Rampura, 26th November 1804.

Kakaji explains On the 20th November I wrote you of my engagement with Kothari from Naraingarh. On the 21st November, being joined by Colonel Holmes, we proceeded on in regular route to this place, which we reached on the 24th November, a day subsequent to Colonel Murray's march three kos from this, having crossed the river Chambal. Here I received a letter from Colonel Murray, directing me to join him without a halt.

On the subject of my people's dissatisfaction at Mandasor I previously wrote to you, and as it has been with the greatest difficulty I have got them on this far. How shall I prevail on them to cross the river? Thus then situated, I returned to Colonel Murray in answer that I meant here to encamp, and that I would communicate to him through Captain Williams my reasons. I have learned from you all that we were to have additional allowances, but Captain Williams, strenuous to his point, has refused us hitherto any payment until we are mustered.

For the present month, now done, neither have we received pay; at Jaora we were told we should have it at Mandasor; in like manner at Naraingarh Captain Williams told us that on reaching Rampura, safe with Colonel Holmes and the treasure, we should then receive our month's pay and as addition to that our extra allowances. To this place Colonel Holmes and I came together; but he, on receipt of a note from Colonel Murray, marched on to join him, and now Captain Williams says: "March on to Hinglasgarh," where our payments shall be made and thus have we been put off from time to time. While fighting with

these difficulties I have been left behind, and Captain Williams says he cannot pay us till we reach camp, under the influence of which he concludes we will move on.

In my services, Bawa Saheb, on this occasion I am actuated of course from knowing the terms of intimacy of our Government ; but this surely cannot be the case with our people, who justly observe they serve where they are paid ; and it is therefore they will not go beyond this place and beg to be paid what is their due. After that, if I like to proceed on myself, I may do so ; and they are thus acting in one continued clamour. Major Walker may observe I am always writing on this subject.

The necessity however cannot be doubted, when the cause is so obvious. So convinced indeed am I of their intentions that not a dog even of this encampment will, I am sure, set his foot beyond the river. It is authentically reported that Mir Khan is on his way here from Surang Balsha. Kothari is also collecting troops in the vicinity of Partabgarh ; and though there is at present no appearance of their marching to attack us, yet as people well acquainted or connected in the country and allied to the Grasiyas, who are numerous in these parts, they possess advantages, which give us reason to expect some injury from their secret or open depredations. The country here in general is difficult and not adapted for a considerable body of troops to move about with facility. The Colonel, finding he is to be relieved, is anxious to engage at any risk. Here also am I situated, surrounded with the clamours of my people. Indeed by the aid of God only I could have reached this far ; for nothing has been wanting to promote my destruction. While conscious of the more than probability of these dissatisfactions taking place, I took the precaution of warning you of them from Mandasor, and I beg to have a speedy answer to their purport.

What follows is written in Kakaji's own hand : He recapitulates in strong terms what is before written, adding : Mir Khan, who has left Surang Balsha, is on his way direct to Kotah. We learn also that the troops in the neighbourhood of Delhi have made some turn. The Colonel, finding he is to be relieved, is marching on without a halt to gain a name.

Bawa Saheb, hitherto Captain Williams has been mild with us, but now the only answer I get, is to march on, or we will be plundered. I find also that the Major is displeased with me. The fact therefore is I cannot expect good from my present mission, a mission from which credit might be derived ; but my fortune is bad, and you cannot amend it.

Such is the state of the people that they wait but your answer to return. Every argument I can adduce for them to permit me to go myself avails not, positively declaring until every real due them is settled I shall not stir. To you this elaborate statement may appear unnecessary ; and to convince you to the contrary I must wait till the favour of God enables us to meet. But thus it is, the return of their troops would bring death to me, and I cannot of course foresee what is written in my book of fate. The argument however is good, as death only can destroy incessant pain.

Be assured that no exertion on my part has been wanting to satisfy the people ; but the whole, when called together, in one voice declare they will not march till these payments are made. They also evince

some fear to engage an enemy so much their superior in numbers. What more can I say?

No. 3. Letter from Raghunath Mahipatrao Kakaji to Sitaram Bawa, dated 29th November, 1804.

Kakaji explains Colonel Murray's ill-will towards us has now become obvious, as Captain Williams has already told us that we are not to be paid, but plundered; observing what do we want with pay? that Colonel Murray will send four battalions to plunder us. They (the British army) are moving on without any arrangement about us, leaving the blame consequently with me for not following them. I have but to expect what Captain Williams has professed, and the people without pay will not go. I am plunged therefore into irretrievable difficulties. To prevail on the troops to move I made every exertion, but without pay they will not cross the river. The vantias, the shopkeepers, the bargirs, silahdars etc. are all unanimous against proceeding. The people sitting in dharna on their jamadars induced these to desire me to return. I told them that I must go forward, drawing from them however no assent; but they observed that this I could do when they were paid up their dues. Two days of this kind have passed. On the subject of our payments I have done everything in my power to get Captain Williams to make them, but he plainly says we shall neither have our pay nor the additional allowance in question.

Impressed therefore with the consequences of these resolves by Captain Williams, it has been determined that to-morrow morning early we shall march for Baroda. On the strength of which determination those who were performing dharna quitted it; and that you may know these circumstances I now write.

I have been daily looking for an answer to my letter from Mandasor; but, as it has not come, what can I do? Major Walker on learning this may be considerably displeased; but it was my endeavours that got us on thus far; and that every further endeavour of mine would, I am convinced, be fruitless, is my reason for returning, whatever may be the consequences on its being learned at Baroda.

Holkar we learn is at Delhi; but where General Lake is, we are not informed. Mir Khan with a force of 75,000 men is marching from Surang Balsha to meet Colonel Murray. Gangaram Kothari has written to Mir Khan to come quickly in this direction. Gangaram also has added to his numbers. Thus do matters stand. Should our return draw from you this remark, that the fear of being devoured must be the cause, I have to reply that the Diwanji, who saw us at Godhra, may be some judge of our state, and what was likely to take place. Our people therefore are thus disobedient, and our allies (alluding to Colonel Murray's army) so good that they are ready to do us injury. Be careful therefore of the consequences, while ignorant of what may happen, as we know not how our return, actuated from necessity, will be considered at Baroda. The people have returned, because they had not money, and because it was going to a distance they did not like and uncertain what would be their lot in a distant country when they were here in this manner threatened. As for myself they will not let me go; therefore again I have been induced to return, and be quick to let me know the consequences on the road.

The kasids have agreed to reach you in eight days ; which let me know. I sent this to you with my blessing. What more can I say ?

No. 4. Letter from Sitaram Raoji to Raghunath Mahipatrao Kakaji, dated 8th December, 1804.

Your letters of 26th November, 1804 and the 29th November I have received and understood. In these you state that you had reached Rampura, from whence Colonel Murray with the whole of the British Army had marched forward ; that, on your wishing to proceed, the people came into your presence and refused, setting forth their clamours, and that they had not the least intention of advancing farther ; that the enemy was assembling from all quarters ; adding that you expected to be plundered even by the English troops with whom you were acting ; and that from these circumstances not a man would set his foot beyond the spot he was on. Besides, you state that, on requiring your pay and the extra allowance, they are not forthcoming, and that you are threatened with being plundered, observing on these circumstances what can you do ; that on your telling the people you must yourself go forward they replied: " Pay us our dues," (to enforce which they were performing dharna on their jamadars), " and then you may go." These difficulties continued for some time, when it was at last resolved to return. Your determination on this head with much other matter I have understood ; and thus, Kakaji Saheb, have I to reply.

*Sitaram
pleads with
Kakaji*

On the subject of General Jones joining the English army and on every other information contained in two or three letters, I have written and sent to you ; but your not acknowledging the receipt of these has given me some surprise ; it matters not however, as before this you must have received the letters, learned their contents, and General Jones must have joined you.

Your letter, Kaka Saheb, of the 26th November (stating that, in consequence of the people refusing to march forward, you judged a return to Baroda would be the result), be assured, gave me considerable uneasiness. Nevertheless I had still dependence that this would not be the case, but that rather overcoming every difficulty you would move on. I entertained this expectation until the receipt of your letter of the 29th November, last night, in which it is announced that you had actually determined to return to Baroda ; and I have consequently laboured under very unpleasant sensations, such as are not to be described on paper.

Kaka Saheb, your ostensible reasons for returning to Baroda are grounded on Colonel Murray's refusal to make good your payments ; and because he has plainly said, did you not move forward, he would plunder your camp. But your return, Kakaji Saheb, would interrupt the public welfare and give rise to sensations more painful than death. Nay, it would give birth to a discord, which would only be extinguished with life. Under these circumstances you foresee danger in either measures, and you are reduced to doubt which is the most hazardous, that of proceeding or of returning. Major Walker however would not look on your reasons for returning in a favourable light, but would be impressed with sentiments of displeasure. Labouring under so many difficulties, I confess I am at a loss what to say or advise, reduced as it were to insanity.

General Jones, who left this some time, accompanied by two or three of our pagas, of course ere this must have joined you ; and an explanation of circumstances will have taken place. You will be very careful to secure his goodwill and at the same time open an explanation on the subject of your grievances. The General Saheb is an excellent and accomplished man ; and on my desiring the aid that would tend to the satisfaction of you and your people, he gave me every assurance of assent. On reaching you therefore, he will learn and remove your complaints by making full payments, etc. Wherefore when he asks you to accompany him, without admitting of a difficulty, do so, and return with your troops and join with him again the British camp. Think not of returning, but of using every possible endeavour with the people to make them rejoin the army, admonishing them to listen to the General, who is ready to answer their wants, and to accompany him back ; by this behaviour they will not only do credit to their Government but gain general applause. As protectors of the State they should proceed without a difficulty ; convinced that that conduct only can ensure the reputation of their Government, let them be regardless of every other consequence. Your return to Baroda will be productive of every evil, not only with me, but with everyone here. The funds of our Government being impoverished or exhausted, is the cause of your not having been paid for three or four years, and which could not even now have taken place till your services on this occasion furnished us with a plea to call in the aid of the English Government. But your return would destroy this, and we should be plunged in irretrievable difficulties. Thus then, without fear or doubt that your requisitions will be complied with, continue on your mission. It is not the Company's displeasure only that will be the result of your return, but the settlement of the silahdars' and pagadars' 3 years' accounts, which at present is a subject of investigation, will be wholly frustrated. What then we are to expect from that displeasure, you must know ; and be assured under its influence it were better to die to-day than to-morrow. To return, on no account can be advisable.

The army by this time with Colonel Murray must have marched to a considerable distance. To enable therefore General Jones to reach it with safety, it is further necessary you should accompany him ; which you must do under a conviction that everything will be settled to your entire satisfaction. The cause of Colonel Murray's present speedy movements (which would not be the case unnecessarily with General Jones) proceeds probably from an anxiety to have an action with the enemy, before he is superseded and removed from his command.

The General in all cases of duty will act only on the sure grounds of discernment, taking into mature consideration the force of your enemy in comparison with your own, the state of the country for troops to act, and using at the same time every precaution necessary to ensure the general welfare in a distant part.

Thus, Kaka Saheb, expect every assurance of good, and in pouring it forth to your people be content to proceed without a doubt, as I am convinced every arrangement will take place to your wishes, and your payments easily be made.

Your services, Kakaji, on this occasion will be productive of much good, and not only give pleasure to Major Walker, but will tend to

facilitate all our communications with him ; the times indeed demand this of you.

My sufferings, Kaka, during the late dharna, how can I describe to you ? I had fasted six or seven days, and for the same time day and night was confined to one spot without washing my body. Thus I was situated without any other dependence than Major Walker, reduced to the necessity of giving my life or submit to any advantage that might be taken. In the meantime the receipt of your pleasing letter announced to us that by the assistance of Almighty God you had gained a victory, a circumstance, be assured, that afforded general satisfaction. The jamadars however now came forward, and unanimously declared they would, unless they were paid, recall the whole of the troops. This circumstance I communicated to Major Walker, and that I really apprehended the whole would actually return, on being wrote to from this place by the jamadars, unless some speedy means of payment were pointed out. The Major, admitting the possibility of this step on the part of your people, and being at the same time interested in our general good, at once found means of payment and relieved me from an impending fate by procuring bills from the sowcars for the payment of the silahdars, pagadars and sibandis. When this was done, your very unsatisfactory letter came to hand.

By this, Kakaji, the work of months will be annulled ; be pleased then under any apparent disadvantage to encourage your troops with hopes, and join with the General at any rate the British army. Come then not at this time to Baroda ; for, if you do, it will not only diminish the credit you have so justly gained for yourself and your Government ; but it will prove a true source of everlasting uneasiness to all your relations.

The displeasure attendant on a conduct of this nature would cause a general uproar, throw impediments of a serious nature in the way of all public duties, and still more destroy those advantages which hitherto have been preserved by the Hon'ble Company's friendship, the forfeiture of which would involve us in general ruin. Let us be regardless then of life or death, as our pain or pleasure depends on preserving their friendship.

If your return should appear to proceed from fear, it would merit disgrace, as your friends could not countenance you ; and it would draw forth the sting of censure and be productive of every evil. It is necessary therefore that you determine, as I have written on this matter, and be pleased to proceed with such of your jamadars and sardars as evince a wish to promote the common good. What then can I say more on this subject, which comprises whatever is good, or evil to you ? More particularly however I shall hereafter write you.

Your last two letters, Kaka Saheb, came to hand in the time you expected ; and I did read every syllable therein. In the course of twenty days I have written and sent you four letters ; one only of which you have acknowledged in your letter of the 23rd. I am at a loss consequently to determine whether you have received these three letters or not. In these letters I had written you on the subject of General Jones joining the army, on our meeting here, and all that passed relative to your welfare. The receipt then of these letters wust have made you,

not only acquainted with many of the particulars that are here stated, but with the excellent and respectable character of the General.

On your receipt of these epistles I had anticipated much real good, convinced that their general tendency must have been gratifying to you in your present dilemma. Unfortunately however, previous to their receipt, these threats from Colonel Murray gave fresh cause of complaint. To plunder you, where is his authority? But, were he to do so, disgrace, and the loss of life would attend him, as the Company's Government would undoubtedly punish such an action. The only reason Colonel Murray has for acting in this untoward manner towards you, is a wish to effect a general misunderstanding, having been dissatisfied and unwilling indeed from the first that the Gaikwad troops on this respectable mission should share with him the credit of the field. Hitherto however you have borne these oppressions in a manly and persevering manner, and without having given any cause of offence. These inimical measures must now end. General Jones is in every respect qualified for the charge of the command, to which he has been appointed; and no disputes will arise with us in future, as it is obvious God would never prosper the works of him, who labours to destroy his own adherents.

Some years ago when the Barbhais were in arms, an English army marched from Bengal to the assistance of the present Peshwa's father, and were accompanied by a force belonging to Asaf Daula, the Nawab of Lucknow, in command of a sardar of consequence by name Abdur Rahman Khan Kundari, who came into the Gujarat country with 5, or 700 horse. A serious engagement took place between the troops of the Peshwa, aided by the English and the Nawab, against those of Sindia and Holkar with other sardars and Haripant Tatya included. The action was severe and lasting; but none could keep pace with the English troops in the field.

After Ahmadabad was taken, Mahadaji Sindia Patel, a personage of sound judgment, foresaw and declared his feeble endeavours against the English would eventually be productive of no good, unless he fled and spread devastation throughout the country. This he did, and brought the English to much expense, the consequence of which produced a general peace. After this event the troops dispersed, when Abdur Rahman received every honour and credit for his conduct on this occasion from the hands of the English Government and of His Highness, and obtained a reputation which time cannot extinguish. These circumstances are known, not only to Amin, but to every sardar in your camp. At that time Amin himself was not present but Hamid, jamadar, his father was a spectator of these transactions, from whom of course he will have learned these particulars. My reason, Kaka Saheb, for writing you thus much is to show you what reward may be expected, that all sardars are not the same, and that the grievances in question have occurred by chance.

In the present instance should still these difficulties continue, your complaints will no doubt be founded; but this will not be the case; for the General, on joining you, will give you every assurance of friendship to all; and under that be very careful to preserve his goodwill, exhort your sardars and jamadars to a sense of their duty by walking in the fear of God and their Master and without a difficulty to rejoin with you the army

Their rozi hafta being settled, it will be speedily communicated by their agents and the parties concerned from this place. Fear not to speak the truth, but do not overrate the actions of little men, convinced that God will promote justice. With the General however at all events preserve cordiality and union.

Your return, without a cause, would not of course be correct, as it is indispensable that you should fight, and die in conjunction with the English troops. Your return here would answer no purpose, but incur an expense, while the consequences at the same time of your not advancing must rest on your own shoulders.

Your intelligence, Kakaji, since you left Ujjain has not been authentic. The Honorable Company's troops are courageous and versed in the art of war ; no people are so liberal in pecuniary affairs ; and though their numbers are few, their ability to overcome many is not to be described.

Other particulars on the subjects herein comprised, I shall take an opportunity of communicating to you ; but at present I shall dispatch this, as you desire so speedy an answer. Sindia Alijah Bahadur is at present at Hoshangabad ; but we have no late information from that quarter. What more can I say ?

No. 5. Letter from Alexander Walker to Captain Williams, dated Baroda, 1804 9th December.

I am sorry that the unpleasant intelligence conveyed in your letter *Last hope* of the 26th ultimo has been confirmed by one of a subsequent date from Kakaji, a translation of which is herewith enclosed.

On receiving this information the Diwan immediately addressed a letter to Kakaji and sent it express, couched in the strongest terms of admonition and remonstrance, to induce the Gaikwad troops or at least himself to remain in the field with whatever number would follow his example.

I have enclosed a duplicate of this letter in the Marathi language ; and if it should not arrive too late, from the earnest manner in which the Diwan has pressed the subject on his relation, it is possible that it may produce some favourable change on these mercenaries.

I am also led to expect that General Jones will be able to restore the Gaikwad troops to a better sense of their duty, and that he will succeed in removing the objections of the jamadars to a distant expedition, which is no doubt in opposition to their limited notions of service. But whatever may be the conduct of the jamadars, we should on our part discover the most scrupulous anxiety to perform all our engagements and to prevail on them to perform theirs by a course of kindness and encouragement.

*Baroda, 15th December, 1804 (1804, P. D. 71A)
Alexander Walker to James Grant.*

1804

I request you will be pleased to inform the Hon'ble the Governor- *Troops*
in-Council, that I have received information from Major-General Jones *obey*
and Captain Williams that the Gaikwad troops had resumed their march
in order to rejoin the British army. This information is confirmed by
Kakaji in a letter to the Administration, in which he expressed himself

highly gratified by his intercourse with Major-General Jones, and observes that the General had removed all their causes of complaint.

The General fell in with these troops on the 6th instant at Jaora and they resumed their march in company with him on the 9th. They would reach Rampura on the 11th and Kotah probably about this day.

With such uncertain and unruly people it would be unsafe to expect a perfect system of co-operation; but I should now hope, when they find their present resolution so strongly urged and pressed on them by their own Government, that the conciliatory measures of Major-General Jones will make them more tractable in future. It is however an agreeable reflection in the midst of these vexatious proceedings that there is no reason to suspect the fidelity of the Gaikwad troops, and that their misconduct has principally arisen from habits and defects inherent to their service.

1804 *Bombay, 15th December, 1804 (1803-04, P. D. Let. to C. of Dir. 4)*
Bombay to the Company.

Kakaji's victory By a dispatch from the Resident at Baroda, under date the 2nd instant, as per copy enclosed, information has been received of the defeat of a considerable body of Holkar's forces by the Gaikwad contingent attached to the army under the command of Colonel Murray. It appears, that a division of the enemy's horse, said to consist of about 3,000, marched from Rampura with the view of intercepting a large supply of treasure proceeding from Mandasor to Colonel Murray's camp under charge of Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes's battalion, and that on receipt of this intelligence Colonel Murray directed the Gaikwad troops to return to Mandasor to form a junction with Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes, an order which the commander of the contingent appears to have obeyed with promptitude; having on the 19th, when within 6 kos of Mandasor fallen in with the enemy, whom he attacked and defeated, thus rendering considerable service by dispersing a corps, which had got unto the rear of the British army, and which would at least have materially interrupted its communication with Gujarat.

1804 *Bombay, 17th December, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 162)*
Oliver Nicolls to Jonathan Duncan.

Kakaji's victory I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a letter from Colonel Murray, dated 21st ultimo with enclosures, detailing the defeat of the body of the enemy's horse which had moved to the westward to interrupt the march of the escort, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes, to camp. I have the honour to congratulate you, Hon'ble Sir, on the spirit manifested by Kakaji and the Gaikwad troops on this occasion.

No. 1. Letter from Colonel Murray to Captain Nicolls, dated 21st November, 1804.

Kakaji's victory I have the honour to enclose the copies of two letters, which I have this morning received from Raghunath Mahipatrao and Captain Williams, and I am convinced the General will observe with pleasure the alacrity and spirit of the Gaikwad sardar and the troops under his command. Late in the evening of the 18th I had intelligence of the movement of the enemy's troops, which have been defeated; and I requested

Kakaji, who had remained one day's march in my rear, to return by Naraingarh to Mandasor with the view of counteracting their intentions and of joining the battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes, who is in charge of the treasure and other military stores for the army. This service has been performed entirely to my satisfaction.

No. 2. Letter from Mahipatrao Kakaji to Colonel Murray, dated camp at Naraingarh, 20th November, 1804.

I received your letter directing me to join Colonel Holmes and in consequence proceeded to do so. On arriving near Naraingarh, I received information of a body of the enemy's troops being at no great distance, and resolved on going out to meet them. An action took place, in which the enemy was routed and dispersed, besides many killed. My people pursued them 4 kos, but by the darkness of the night were obliged to give up the pursuit and return to camp. Nor do I precisely know where they are gone. Sir, I have had many men and horses wounded. Captain Williams received a letter from Colonel Holmes, desiring me to halt at Mandasor, as it was your order, and mentioning that the Colonel heard you would yourself return to that place when we were all to join. If you order me, I shall remain here and send 2,000 horse to join Colonel Holmes; for, if this place is left defenceless, the enemy will return. Therefore I write you thus fully; be pleased to let me know how I should act. For further particulars I refer you to Captain Williams' letter.

No. 3. Letter from Captain Williams to Colonel Murray.

N.B.—Except for a few verbal changes this letter is the same as that written by Williams to Alexander Walker, see *Alexander Walker's letter to James Grant* of December 2, 1804, enclosure No. 1.

Camp at Kotah, 18th December, 1804 (1805, S. & P. D. 164).

1804

Colonel Murray to Captain Nicolls.

As, Sir, I have reason to believe that the Gaikwad troops will not pass Kotah, if they come so far, I take the liberty of suggesting their being employed near Ratlam and Dohad. But I must observe that I am totally ignorant of the arrangement lately made by General Jones with their commander. *Gaikwad troops*

Baroda, 21st December, 1804, (1804, S. & P. D. 162).

1804

Oliver Nicolls to Jonathan Duncan.

I have the honour to forward a copy of a letter received to-day from Major-General Jones, in which he acquainted me that he has been able to induce the Gaikwad troops to rejoin the army. *Letter*

Letter from General Jones to Lieutenant-General Nicolls, dated Jaora, 3rd December.

The Gaikwad troops, after defeating Gangaram Kothari, had reached this place on their return to Baroda. After some discussions between Kakaji, Captain Williams and myself on the subject of their arrears, Kakaji consented to take bills for his demands, and returns to the army. As these demands are founded on the agreement made with these troops at Vejalpur, I accepted of his offer, and to-morrow they march again towards camp. *Kakaji obeys*

Remark in the Diary.

Approval The Board are glad to find that General Jones has been able to take back with him the Gaikwad cavalry on the terms adverted to in the report from him, which is above recorded.

1804 *Bhanpura, 21st December, 1804 (1805, S. & P. D. 164)*

Raghunath Mahipatrao Kakaji to Sakharam Raoji and Sitaram Raoji.

Meeting Jones On meeting the General (Jones) at Jaora he was pleased to make our arrears of payments and to satisfy in every respect the jamadars by a mild treatment and proper assurances. The General is an excellent man and has treated us very favourably. On the receipt of further intelligence I shall duly acquaint you with it. For the present therefore let this convey to you my blessing.

1804 *Bhanpura, 21st December, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 164)*

Raghunath Mahipatrao Kakaji to Sitaram.

Settlement On the 15th (18th December) we reached Rampura, where we remained the 16th (19th December), and on the 17th (20th December) passed the Chambal and encamped on its opposite bank, as we encountered some difficulty in crossing; but to-day 18th Ramzan (21st December) we march for Bhanpura, from whence in regular route and without further delay to Kotah is 5 or 6 days. Colonel Murray, who had crossed the Chambal, has been recalled to Kotah. On the General's joining the army, it will then be determined what remains to be done, and in which direction next our services will be required.

The General is an excellent man, and has treated us very favourably. On the receipt of further intelligence I shall duly acquaint you with it. For the present therefore let this convey to you my blessing.

1804 *Camp, 13 kos west of Shahabad, 28th December, 1804 (1804, S. & P. D. 164)*

Major-General Jones to Jonathan Duncan.

Advance The Gaikwad troops were at Kotah, but Mahipatrao Kakaji assured me, when I halted with him at Mukandwara, that he would join the British army. I again march to-morrow.

1805 *Baroda, 11th January, 1805 (1805, S. & P. D. 164)*

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

No master In answer to your letter of the 7th ultimo I request you will be pleased to inform the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that in settling with the Gaikwad troops General Jones and Captain Williams found it necessary to dispense with the measure of mustering them. It was perceived that the strict execution of this measure would excite universal disgust, and it was thought advisable to adopt more private means for ascertaining any deficiency in the numbers of these troops. In the situation also, in which General Jones fell in with the Gaikwad troops, there was not time for the operation of a regular muster, and the circumstances of the service at that juncture did not allow it to be insisted on.

1805 *Camp at Kotah, 11th January, 1805 (1805, S. & P. D. 165)*

Major-General Jones to Major General Wellesley.

Troops retreat I am extremely sorry to acquaint you that the Gaikwad troops left Kotah several days since, and that I only received intimation of their

retrograde movement yesterday evening from Mahipatrao, who had marched beyond the Mukandwara pass, before he gave me any notice of his intention.

Previous to the receipt of this letter from Kakaji, I had received intelligence from kasids that the Gaikwad troops were returning, and I instantly wrote to him in the most pressing terms to join the British army; but he does not appear to acknowledge the receipt of any of my letters, though one of them was taken to him by his bini, when he carried the treasure from camp.

I promised to pay the Gaikwad troops what they considered themselves entitled to, and I rigidly performed all my promises, and even paid them 10,000 Rupees in advance for the current month. I have therefore good ground to question Kakaji's assertion that he was put in a dilemma by his troops, and to say that his statement of circumstances is a mere fabrication. I have made another effort to detain him by urging him again to return to Kotah or to take up a position in Malwa between Rampura and Jaora, but I entertain very faint hopes of prevailing on him to give up his resolution to go back to Baroda.

No. 1. Letter from Kakaji to Major-General Jones, dated 6th January, 1805.

I have been honoured at a happy period with the receipt of your very gratifying communication and am perfectly sensible of its contents. *Excuses* I shall not lose a moment in hastening to obey your positive injunctions for me to join you; my heart and soul are already with you; for you are well skilled in the practice of military operations, but I need not dwell longer on this.

When you passed Mukandwara, I represented to you that my troops had been levied on the condition that they were not to be sent beyond the frontiers of Malwa; that, though by the agreement concluded at Jaora, with which all appeared to be perfectly satisfied, you prevailed upon them to march as far as Kotah, I intimated to you that they would not march a step beyond that place; and that in their march thus far they would be incessantly murmuring and objecting to proceed. You replied to me on that occasion that you would send Major Williams to Kotah to satisfy the men and prevail upon them to go on. Upon these assurances I proceeded to Kotah and remained there 8 days in anxious expectation of Williams' arrival; but that officer never came. In consequence of which my people clamorous for their pay made me sit down 4 days without allowing me to take any food. I tried every persuasion in my power to induce them to go on, but not one would proceed a step beyond Kotah. At last having no alternative (not to mention the penance and importunity I was suffering) and not thinking it advisable to remain in a strange country in the dominion of another Power, I was compelled to march from Kotah and crossed accordingly to the other side of the Bari. Lakhmiram and Bappa, who witnessed themselves the state of my troops were in, no doubt represented the same to you.

Your goodness, kind Sir, will never be effaced from my memory. I was in hopes to have had the pleasure of your society a few days and to have enjoyed the happiness such a meeting would have afforded; but the troops of Gujarat are very unwilling to make longer distant movements. I exerted my utmost endeavours to encourage and prevail

upon them, but they would not listen to my persuasions. When you proposed through Lakhmiram an increase of their pay, they replied: "You now propose to increase our pay; but, as Major Williams did not come to Kotah, we cannot depend on what you now propose." I also pointed out to Vishwanath Sethji in the strongest terms the necessity of Major Williams coming, but you never sent him.

I am so fully sensible and confident of your friendship towards me that I had formed the wish of joining you myself in the event of my men persisting in not going forward. I had determined thus much in my own mind, but my troops objected to my going, till I had first come to some settlement with them; and how was this to be done without going to Baroda. For this very urgent reason, therefore, was I compelled to come back to Baroda.

There is a report here that General Lake has taken the fort of Deeg. This I assure you has given me great pleasure and satisfaction, though God knows whether it be true or merely a false report. Holkar after his defeat is said to have taken the route for Bhurtpore, Providence no doubt ere this has also crowned your arms with victory and triumph. I shall therefore go on to Baroda, as there can now be no more occasion for my force. For further particulars I refer you to Lakhmiram. What more can I say?

1805 *Baroda, 30th January, 1805 (1805, S. & P. D. 165)*

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

*Troops
retreat*

I am sorry to be under the necessity of reporting for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council another retrograde movement of the Gaikwad troops. This intelligence was first conveyed in a letter from Kakaji, dated the 11th instant, a copy and translation of which, I have the honour to enclose. The account has been since confirmed by Major-General Jones and Captain Williams. The General's dispatch accompanies this, and I have enclosed a copy of Captain William's letter on the subject.

This event has excited the most lively uneasiness in the Baroda Administration; and on the first intelligence of such disgraceful conduct, Sitaram addressed a letter to Kakaji, desiring him to halt wherever the order should find him, and forbidding him in the strongest terms from coming to Baroda. The Diwan at the same time pitched his tents with an intention of taking the field with a few hundred horse, which he was able to collect from this neighbourhood.

Sitaram flattered himself that the effect of his order would induce the troops to halt and to keep them in Malwa. In that situation he proposed to join them and expected that he should prevail on the majority to return to their duty, resolving to discharge those, who should persist in their disobedience, from the service. I would have dissuaded Sitaram from going on this occasion, but he thought the measure so necessary for his own vindication and the reputation of his Government that I was obliged to acquiesce.

It soon appeared that Sitaram had been too sanguine in the effect which he expected to be produced by his order for the troops to halt. They received that order about Petlawad, and intelligence of their arrival at Dohad reached us last night. The grief and resentment of Sitaram were excessive on this occasion. The situation was embarrassing,

although it afforded an opportunity of reducing a mercenary and discontented soldiery and of strengthening the authority of the Government by an act of vigour, which every person would approve of.

Sitaram is aware of these circumstances and of the consequences of this mutinous conduct if it is allowed to pass unpunished. At the same time it exceeded the ability of his revenue or resources to pay off the arrears of the army, and the power at Baroda is not sufficient to check their licentiousness. It is to be expected that these troops, on arriving at Baroda, will prefer pecuniary demands without a regard to their justice, and enforce them with a stubbornness bordering on ferocity, in proportion to the defenceless state of the Government or in the ratio of its disposition to concession, which would be construed into weakness.

As the danger of standing his ground seems less on this occasion than yielding, I have advised Sitaram to maintain the rights of his Government, but to pursue a course which may preserve the public tranquillity.

I have recommended him to dispatch a confidential person to Dohad or Godhra, and to halt the troops, if possible, at the former place ; but, if that should be too late, to stop them at the latter. By this measure we shall have time to ascertain the extent of their demands and to provide the best calculated means for discharging them.

It is proposed that Raja Pandhre with some of the best affected to the Government among the Maratha officers shall be prevailed on to return to Malwa ; and those who have not rendered themselves particularly obnoxious may be sent for the present on the mulukiri of Mahi-Kantha. The third party, which will comprise the most culpable, it is intended to discharge. By this arrangement we shall retain a smaller number in the field, but their spirit and good inclination will compensate for that circumstance. It may be observed in respect to this measure that it is equally a point of interest as of honour to prevent the authority of the Gaikwad Government being trampled on, and especially when engaged in support of our measures.

No. 1. Letter from Raghunath Mahipatrao Kakaji to Sitaram Barwa and Sakharam Diwanji, dated 11th January, 1805.

Let me request your communications more frequent, from which I derive considerable satisfaction. *Kakaji's
excuse*

I wrote you on the 18th Ramzan (21st December) on our reaching Rampura with the General in company, and on quitting Rampura we reached Bhanpura on the 20th Ramzan.

Here we were joined by a detachment of the Kotahwala's troops to the number of 100 sowars as guides, under Kurban Alki, Pathan, and Maral Khan. We learned here also of Colonel Murray's march from Kotah to the neighbourhood of Narwar. The General, fearful that by continuing with us he could not so soon overtake his army, requested a detachment of horse sufficient for his safety, and that he would move on himself and overtake them in two days. Previous to his marching, he desired me to move on to Kotah, where he would shortly return to join me, settle everything to the satisfaction of the people, when we should there be ready to undertake or adopt such other measures as might prove necessary.

The General, before he marched, visited me, and received his present on parting ; and with his party, consisting of 500 of our horse, with 100 under Maral Khan, set out at midnight with Captain Williams in company, leaving behind the other officers and Vishwanath Seth.

On the 21st Ramzan (24th December) we marched, passed Mukandwara, and on the following day reached Kotah, as did also the General, the British camp crossing the Praty river. Colonel Holmes was then detached to Ratlam for treasure, and with him proceeded Colonel Murray for Baroda.

Refusal to go further The settlement the General made with us at Jaora was an order for one half the money on Baroda and an order for the other half on the Paymaster in camp, which was paid and sent to Kotah by the sowars, who accompanied him. Captain Williams has remained there, and the General wrote me to come ; but the people, clamorous for one and a half month's pay due, refused. The General had given them his word to advance them only to Kotah ; therefore none will set their foot beyond it. Were the General here, he might be enabled to reconcile them ; but now he is at a great distance ; and as his only wish seems to be to advance, I of course cannot expect his return here. I have once or twice written and requested him to send Captain Williams, but the answer is that he is ill.

The people therefore very positively declare that, as they have reached Kotah, and as the General had given them his word, they will not march further. Some delay in the payment of the money, due from the Paymaster, gave the people cause of complaint, although it was duly sent on the General's arrival there. On writing to the General of the people's clamours for their pay, he writes to me to march and join him, when it shall be done.

To effect this I have done everything in my power and promised them not only a speedy settlement of their accounts but additional pay. It has been however to no purpose, nor will one advance his foot, and we have been deserted by a number of our people and followers.

To get the people thus far has been attended with reiterated difficulties, a task indeed that has cost half my life to perform. Thus reduced therefore to extremities, we marched back on the 30th Ramzan (2nd January 1805) to this place, and shall to-day repass the Bari and encamp to its southward ; from whence we shall proceed on in regular route. On the subject of our reaching Kotah I wrote you by a pair of kasids on the 24th Ramzan, but which you did not receive, as they were apprehended by Kothari for two days, when he took from them the letter and let them go ; and therefore the cause of this letter's delay, to which you may allow also the distance we are now at. Of the Kotah-wala's attention to us, I can scarcely speak too highly. From this we shall proceed by Sitamau in regular route.

Excuses Bawa Saheb, being disappointed in the General's joining us at Kotah, in the return of Captain Williams, and driven by the importunities of the people, indescribable on paper, rendered our return unavoidable. Bawa Saheb, your long silence has given me much uneasiness ; write therefore more frequently.

We learn General Lake has stormed and taken the fort of Deeg. Holkar is in a ruined condition and in that state was driven back to Bhurtore, news, you may be sure, that has afforded much satisfaction.

General Lake must have acted a great part, and Holkar's speedy destruction in a similar manner would appear evident.

The following matter is in Kakaji's own handwriting, who, following the subject, observes :

For 10 days I remained at Kotah in expectation of a meeting with the General and Captain Williams ; but, as they did not come, and had carried on their baggage, I concluded I was no further required. With Captain Williams are but two khidmatgars, the rest in *toto* having left him. For 10 days the people kept me in dharna to enforce our return, which I was necessitated to comply with under a conviction that Captain Williams did not mean to join us again. Not to return, the people demanded money, but from where was it to come ? The people are but soldiers of their own country, and on their services cannot dependence be placed. They also jointly declare that, though their engagement only was as far as Ujjain, they have marched to Kotah, beyond which place, without their numbers were increased to 20,000, or they were offered double pay, they positively will not go. Should the sardars accede to advance, on a promise of double pay, yet what is to be expected from their individual services without their people, though on our return all will require the payment of their arrears ?

Previous to our return, I told them plainly that this measure I adopted on their account only ; and that, if any blame was attached to us at Baroda, I should not take it to myself. The people have not yet heard of the rozi hafta settlement at Baroda, what affords them further matter for grumbling. As I have not the means of redressing these grievances, I have to acquaint you of them ; and more than this what can I say ?

No. 2. Letter from Captain Williams to Major Walker, dated Camp near Kotah, 9th January.

I am extremely concerned to be obliged to report to you that General Jones received a letter yesterday evening from Kakaji, dated the 6th instant, confirming the report we had received before, that he had left Kotah on the 3rd, and that he was then to the southward of the Mukandwara pass on his return to Baroda. *Kakaji
blamed*

I have already had the honour of informing you in a private letter that, as soon as General Jones received intelligence from kasids that Kakaji had marched, he took every means in his power to bring him to a sense of his duty ; acquainting him that, if he could not prevail on his troops to return to Kotah, to halt and remain in Malwa, until he heard from his own Government. The General has this day sent him another letter, entreating of him not to proceed to the southward of Malwa ; adding that, if he consents to remain there, he will reinforce his troops with a battalion of sepoys.

Kakaji's excuses for returning are too futile to be replied to, as at the time, when he says he was put in dharna by his troops, he had received the whole of his arrears in full, and ten thousand Rupees in advance on account of the current month. I further deem it incumbent on me to state to you that Kakaji's authority in his own camp was paramount. Amin, jamadar, had acquired such a degree of influence over him, that I believe he seldom acted without consulting him ; and

I am sorry to inform you, that that jamadar's counsels were generally inimical to the public service.

Government's remarks thereon communicated to the Baroda Resident.

Approval There seems ground for doubting that the Gaikwad cavalry may have stood fully impressed with the local extent of the service eventually expected from them ; since Kakaji positively states that in the first instance they were not intended to go beyond Ujjain, nor, at any time, to exceed the limits of Kotah.

This restriction of service does not however appear to have been so understood by the Diwan himself ; and we accordingly, as the Resident was advised under that date, approve of those marks of resentment, which he [Sitaram] purposes to evince towards the most refractory, within the limits suggested by Major Walker's advice to him, the further proceedings on which it was noticed Government would be anxious to learn.

1805 *Bombay, 26th February, 1805 (1805, P. D. Let. to C., of D G. 5)*
Bombay to the Company.

Troops return We beg leave here to advert to dispatches, recorded as per margin, from the Resident at Baroda and from General Jones on the subject of a retrograde movement from Kotah towards Gujarat of the contingent of Gaikwad troops appointed to attend the army in the field. On this subject it appears, as well from the Gaikwad commander's letters to General Jones as to the Diwan at Baroda, as per copies entered in those proceedings, that there is ground for doubting that the Gaikwad cavalry may have stood fully impressed with the local extent of the service eventually expected from them ; since their commander positively states that in the first instance they were not intended to go beyond Ujjain, nor at any time to exceed the limits of Kotah ; but as this restriction of service would not seem to have been so understood by the Diwan himself, we have accordingly approved of those marks of resentment, intended to be evinced towards the most refractory, within the limits suggested by Major Walker's advice to him.

1805 *Baroda, 19th March, 1805 (1805, S. & P. D. 165)*
Alexander Walker to James Grant.

Fresh troops I am induced to submit the above measure [*raising fresh troops*] to Government by a conviction of the little assistance which we are to expect from the co-operation of the Gaikwad forces, should necessity oblige us to require their aid. If any benefit is to be expected from their assistance, they must be paid by us, and from their habits and insubordination they would prove much less efficient and serviceable than a less number, controlled by authority and stimulated by the example of European officers.

1805 *Baroda, 20th March, 1805 (1805, S. & P. D. 166)*
Alexander Walker to James Grant.

Dealing with troops I have delayed answering your letter of the 16th ultimo until I should be able to state the result of the measure to which it related. Before Sitaram's messengers could communicate with the Gaikwad troops, they had arrived at Godhra, from whence Kakaji with some of the sardars proceeded to Baroda. These parties expressed their

sense of duty to the Gaikwad State and their readiness to co-operate with the Company's armies. They professed their regret for what had passed and made no recriminations.

So far their conduct was marked by a greater degree of propriety than I had expected from them ; but, when the Diwan proposed that a portion of the troops should return to Malwa, although they declared that they were ready and willing to go on that service, they required previously a large payment of money under various pretences. The tendency also of their proposals went to bind the Company in pecuniary engagements for their support, which I deemed entirely inexpedient.

At the same time, to deprive them of any just plea hereafter for not having gone on this service, I informed the Diwan that his troops might receive a monthly pay in advance, and that General Jones would take measures for their future subsistence, unto whom I referred them for the adjustment of any unsettled claims.

The jamadars probably in expectation of further concessions did not close with these terms, and I conceived it would be fruitlessly committing the Company's interests and honour to comply with the exorbitant demands of mercenaries on whose services such small dependence could be placed.

Although the Diwan still talked of discharging the whole or part of his refractory troops, I perceived that he was less resolute in this measure since the arrival of Kakaji, who most probably dissuaded against it. I have therefore not pressed the measure and shall, (unless it is renewed by Sitaram himself) for the present take no further notice of it.

The existing circumstances seem to require that we should temporise with these troops. It is therefore proposed that they shall be employed on the mulukgiri of Mahi Kantha, which will keep the Kolis in awe, whose power is chiefly in that quarter, and [will] therefore secure the interior tranquillity of Gujarat. By this means also these troops will be preserved ready for service and be continued in a situation from which they can be speedily recalled for the defence of the province or to act with the Company's forces at Baroda, should it be necessary.

Remark in the Diary.

It was, on the 1st instant intimated in reply to the above letter *Approval* that, under existing circumstances, the measures therein reported appeared the best that the extraordinary case, to which they bore reference, might at present conveniently admit of.

Camp before Bhurtpore, 23rd March, 1805 (1805, S. & P. D. 167)
George Williams to Jonathan Duncan.

1805

I have the honour to enclose you a copy of a letter from the Secretary *Letters* to the Government to the Hon'ble Lieutenant-Colonel Lake, which has been transmitted to me through Major-General Jones, calling on me for an explanation, a copy of which I have the honour of enclosing you.

No. 1. *Letter from N. B. Edmonstone to Lieutenant-Colonel Lake, Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, dated Fort William, 12th January, 1805.*

Inquiry I am directed by His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General-in-Council to request you will lay before His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the enclosed copy of a dispatch from the Resident at Baroda.

The Governor-General-in-Council is sorry to observe in the letters from the commander of the Gaikwad troops serving with detachment under the commands of Colonel Murray an assertion that Colonel Murray had threatened to plunder the Gaikwad troops.

His Excellency-in-Council does not think it proper to permit an accusation so injurious to the British character to pass without observation, and accordingly requests that the Commander-in-Chief will be pleased to inquire into the truth of that assertion, and to communicate the result of his inquiry for the information of the Governor-General-in-Council previously to instituting any other proceeding on the subject.

No. 2. *Letter from George Williams to Major-General Jones, dated Camp before Bharipore, 21st March, 1805.*

Indignant denial I had the honour of receiving your letter of yesterday's date with its enclosures ; and although I have no opportunity at present of referring to a single document respecting my transactions with the Gaikwad contingent, still I lose not a moment in replying to Kakaji's assertions as contained in the translation of his letter to his relation, Sitaram, under date the 29th of November.

My letter to Major Walker from Mandasor under date the 15th of November contained Kakaji's declaration to me in the most explicit manner that he would not advance farther than Rampura. It was therefore, I consider, unnecessary in that Chieftain to resort to calumny to cover his own breach of faith ; as he must have known, did he not write himself, that my letters would have reached Baroda, declaring his resolution not to march beyond Rampura.

Kakaji is too well acquainted with the British character to give a moment's consideration to such a threat as he complains of, had it been made to him from Colonel Murray or myself. I am therefore led to believe it never was his intention that the letters he addressed to his relation, Sitaram, should meet an English eye.

Still, as it has unfortunately come forward in the manner it has done, I have no hesitation in declaring in the most unequivocal manner that Colonel Murray did not convey any threat whatever through me to Kakaji or the Gaikwad troops, nor do I recollect his having any personal interview with him after we marched, excepting one, and that was in October shortly after we left Ujjain. Had Colonel Murray threatened him by letter, Kakaji would have produced it.

When Kakaji made his orders public that he would return next day, I sent for the principal camp-shroff to my tent, on whom I had an order for some money (a lakh of Rupees), and requested he would advance me two or three thousand, as it was my intention not to return with the Gaikwad troops, but proceed with my own servants and join the British detachments.

On hearing this, he replied he had no money, nor would he advance one single Rupee. Indignant at such behaviour and at the situation I was in, seeing that their troops were deserting us at the moment they thought we would be attacked, I replied that I hoped the rest [?] would plunder him of all he had, on his return to Gujarat, and desired him to go out of my tent. This conversation, I imagine, he carried with exaggerations to the Gaikwad commander, which has been amplified into a threat from Colonel Murray to plunder the Gaikwad troops.

No threat was ever made to Kakaji; on the contrary, when I reflect on my own behaviour, I blush at the indignities I have submitted to. When we halted at Rampura, the tents of the English camp were in sight and not distant more than two kos from us; thus far Kakaji would not proceed although I had promised he should receive one month's pay, (which was all that was due to him) on his arrival there. Therefore his complaint of want of pay was unreasonable, as he knows we had money there, and nowhere else, treasure to a considerable amount having arrived with Colonel Holmes.

The difference to be paid on account of the dearness of grain was by the agreement entered into, on taking the field, to be adjusted mutually between the commander and me. To accomplish this, as well as my instructions directed, it was necessary that I should ascertain the number of men and horses. To this Kakaji would not consent, (although frequently requested to do it, and twice by letter), but desired me to pay them certain sums, the amount I do not now recollect; which I did not consider myself authorised to do. So that every engagement, entered into with these troops, was most scrupulously adhered to on our part.

In the agreement entered into at Vejalpur, of which I was a party, there were no limits prescribed for the place they were to serve in; but it was considered wherever the seat of war might draw them to. Their fixing on Malwa therefore as the extent of where they would march to, is a dereliction of all co-operation in the war and another breach of their engagement.

It is almost unnecessary to state to you, Sir, after your experience of these people what little dependence can be placed on their assertions, who, after paying them six lakhs of Rupees at Jaora, halted at Mandasor four days, and refused to proceed further, until you agreed to refund a claim, then advanced, for upwards of a lakh of Rupees, and some settlement regarding payments; and afterwards on receiving more than another lakh at Kotah, returning to Gujarat without your leave or knowledge; and we know by a letter, recently received from Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes, that Kakaji offered to advance again, if he paid him six lakhs of Rupees.

I further beg leave respectfully to state for the information of His Excellency the Right Hon'ble the Commander-in-Chief and of His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General-in-Council that Kakaji's authority, however he wishes to conceal it, is paramount in his own camp; and that I believe the objections he complains of in the jamadars originated in himself and Amin, a Sindhi jamadar, who had great influence with him, and whose counsels were adverse to our Government and injurious to Kakaji.

1805 *Baroda, 9th April, 1805 (1805, S. & P. D. 166)*

Alexander Walker to James Grant.

I have had the honour to receive your letter of the first instant, Letter approving of the measures which I had reported on the 20th ultimo to have adopted towards the Gaikwad troops lately employed in the field under Mahipatrao Kakaji.

1085 *Fort William, 11th April, 1805 (1805, S. & P. D. 167)*

The Marquis of Wellesley to Jonathan Duncan.

*Calcutta
decision*

You have been apprised of the earnest desire of the Governor-General-in-Council that the charges in every branch of the administration in India should be reduced, at as early a period of time as may be practicable, to the lowest scale which may be compatible with the efficiency of the public service.

In reviewing this question His Excellency-in-Council has adverted to the heavy expense lately incurred on account of the Gaikwad cavalry and to the inadequate services rendered to the British Government by this description of troops, who cannot from their constitution be expected to afford any efficient aid to the British forces.

The Governor-General-in-Council accordingly considers it to be proper to direct that the Gaikwad cavalry shall not in future be employed at the expense of the Hon'ble Company with any detachments of the British troops serving beyond the frontier of Gujarat, unless in any case of emergency the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council of Bombay shall deem the services to be indispensably necessary.

If the aid of the Gujarat cavalry should at any time be required within the limits of the province of Gujarat, they will of course be employed at the expense of Anandrao Gaikwad for the defence of his own territories.

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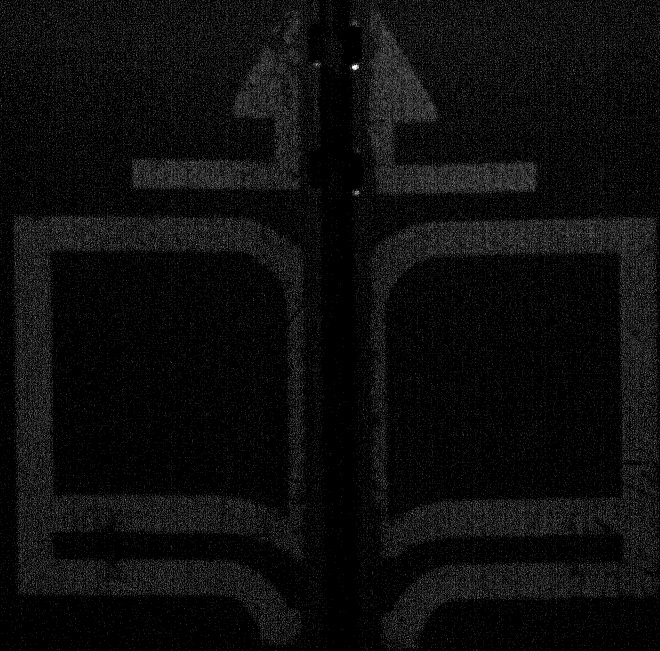
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